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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 21, 1895.

## The Week.

THE business outlook is improving. Even those trade journals which have been most pessimistic heretofore acknowledge this fact. Among the causes of the better condition, by far the most important is the assurance conveyed to the public, and now abundantly confirmed and universally believed on both sides of the water, that the gold standard is to be maintained. This has given confidence to the possessors of capital, which was the only thing needed to set the wheels of production revolving. The bond syndicate has done what it undertook to, and even more; it has thus far controlled the rate of sterling exchange so that gold could not be exported. It has done this in addition to the delivery, at regular intervals, of the gold which it contracted to supply to the Treasury. It is within the bounds of truth to say that no other group of men in the world could have accomplished this feat. The importance of it is beyond estimation, since it arrested a panic the consequences of which nobody can depict any more than he can tell how far a prairie fire will spread after it is once started. It is not to be supposed that these men have been meeting all demands for foreign exchange below the gold-shipping point since the 2d of February without cost to themselves, seeing that gold was going out before that date at the rate of \$10,000,000 per week. Whether they make a profit or not at the end of their undertaking depends on circumstances. They have certainly deserved it, but they have not yet reached the end. The clamor of envious tongues has now nearly ceased, and has dwindled to a few objurgations about the tightness of money, which is attributed to the operations of the syndicate. If it were due to them it would be another title of honor, because tightness of money means employment of money, and is the surest sign of the betterment of trade.

An actual and bona-fide sale of American woollens has been made in Bradford, the great English centre of woollen manufacturing. This is said to have been the first shipment of American woollens ever made to Europe. In itself of no great moment, as the goods were only in a single line, the event has naturally made a great stir in woollen circles. The shipment was made by W. E. Derby & Co. of this city. In explanation a member of the firm says:

"As soon as a reduction of duties was effected on manufactures of wool, we commenced to investigate the matter of a possible exportation of domestic fabrics; we com-

pared the foreign and domestic prices as they gradually approached each other, and the fabrication of the closely competing foreign and domestic fabrics, with the result that we discovered an opportunity to gain a foothold for American woollen goods in England, even though small. In endeavoring to make a place for these goods we found much prejudice existing against the use of stock which people there were not accustomed to, and found it necessary to sell the goods at lower prices than we could purchase similar goods of English manufacture for; at the same time we were selling at a profit. We in fact could not buy similar English fabrics at within 4 pence of what these American goods were sold at, but as soon as our line of goods becomes better known I have no doubt but that we shall be able to obtain from 3 to 4 pence per yard more than now."

There is something painfully un-American about this. The woollens did not even "follow the flag." They unpatriotically went on the *Teutonic*. No drum-beat, no guns, no powerful naval demonstration preceded and caused their shipment, but in the basest and most mercenary spirit they were sent over because they could be sold "at a profit." This is a distinct degradation of international trade from its holiest uses, and what is responsible for it? Another un-American thing, "a reduction of duties." At least, that is what the exporters say. But we shall not so far cater to universal scepticism as to credit this explanation. Too many innocent and trusting minds have been taught at their mothers' knees to believe that a reduction of duties meant a general dumping of goods on us, to make the suggestion that it really means our dumping the goods on other people seem anything but sacrilegious. We hope, however, that McKinley and the great wool-gatherer, Judge Lawrence, will make haste to advance a "new theology" of protectionism, into which these disturbing facts may be fitted without upsetting the precious faith of the little ones.

A Spanish war-ship on March 8 attempted to stop an American steamer six miles from the shore of Cuba. For this purpose it fired a blank charge across her bows. The American captain chose not to obey the signal. Thereupon the Spaniard gave chase and fired a shot at him, which fell a quarter of a mile short. As the American was steaming thirteen miles an hour and the Spaniard only eleven, the latter was soon dropped astern. These facts were well adapted to display by head-lines, of which the *Tribune* supplied fourteen, besides a picture of the steamer that was fired on. The *World* did much better, for it had a picture of both ships while the firing was going on, which showed a shell exploding within ten feet of the American ship—a fact which was not mentioned by the captain. It also had portraits of most of the officers of the steamship that was fired on. We tremble to think what Senator Lodge will say about it when his

turn comes. He said the other day that Halifax threatened us. If that is true, what words will express his indignation at this Spanish assault upon our rights and dignity? Secretary Gresham has added to the other enormities of his career that of writing a despatch to the American minister at Madrid on the *Allianza* affair without letting the newspaper men know anything about it, thus luring them into the belief that he was doing nothing, or worse than nothing—that is, trying to find out the other side of the case, which is worse than nothing. Thus some of them "went off at half-cock," and are now subjects of laughter from a cynical age.

The energy displayed by the Governor of Colorado in bringing to justice the murderers of the Italians at Walsenburg is much to be commended, and is in glaring contrast with the proceedings in Louisiana in 1891 when the jail was broken into by a "respectable mob," and a number of prisoners brutally killed. In that case the Italian ambassador, after making a demand for the punishment of the murderers and reparation for the families of the victims which the secretary of state, Mr. Blaine, was unable to comply with, demanded his passports and withdrew. Regular diplomatic relations between Italy and the United States were suspended until some time later, when Mr. Blaine managed to save up enough money from the contingent fund of his department to satisfy the pecuniary claims. Nothing ever was done to bring the murderers to punishment. On the contrary, the leader was fêted and toasted at home as though he had deserved well of the republic, and a few years later he received similar honors in Boston, but not for that reason—probably the killing of the Italians had been forgotten. The promptness of the action taken in Colorado is perhaps due in large part to the steps taken by Italy after the New Orleans affair. It is not a pleasant thing to have one's country stigmatized as unfit for diplomatic relations by reason of the lawless character of its inhabitants and the inability of its Government to protect the lives of foreigners who have a right to be here. We shall hope to see the efforts of Gov. McIntire crowned with success.

New Orleans has at last some lawlessness of which she appears to be ashamed, and which, though several days late, she means to put down. The striking 'long-shoremen have but taken a leaf out of the book of the "first citizens" who, only four years ago, got their rifles and massacred the Italians. What wonder that the strikers should have accepted powder and ball as the proper New Orleans method of arguing? Is a negro any better than a "Dago"? Let ten-dollars-

a-day arbitrators say that the strikers were too hasty, that they should have appealed to arbitration; the fact remains that the 'longshoremen thought as straight as they shot. Those negroes were doing *their* work, drawing *their* wages, taking the bread from *their* wives and children. Can you parley with robbers? No; the thing to do is, as Parkerson told the mob that massacred the Italians, "Get your guns." This the 'longshoremen did, and thereby showed an admirable perception of the conclusions to which the modern doctrine of the rights of labor directly leads.

The shocking riot in the Indiana Legislature in which so many persons were hurt and the ribs of the Governor's secretary broken, was a regular football attempt to "tackle him low," so as to prevent his reaching the Speaker with a bill, and a distinguished football player really won fresh honors in the mêlée. The row arose over a bill intended to substitute a Republican for a Democrat as custodian of the State-house. The Republican majority passed the bill, but the Democratic Governor held it till the last moment so that when he vetoed it the Legislature could not pass it over his veto. The object of the Republicans, therefore, was to prevent the veto reaching the Speaker before adjournment, and for this purpose they bucked and tackled the Democrats. So many Republicans were, however, injured in the fray, that he finally got to the Speaker's chair, with a bleeding face, a broken rib, and a lacerated diaphragm. It is said the parties are all ashamed of the scrimmage now, and well they may be, but they would do it again. The affair is one more contribution to the mass of scandal which, all over the country, is discrediting representative government.

The point in the matter, however, which most deserves attention is that the row arose over a small office, and that probably nothing else in the world could have caused it. Neither war, currency, taxation, prohibition, nor any other subject likely to engage the attention of the Legislature, or lying within its jurisdiction, could possibly have led to such a scene. Concerning such matters most politicians nowadays are comparatively lukewarm. They do not give them very serious consideration. They do not become excited about them. The thing which most occupies their minds in all political contests is the offices which are likely to be at their disposal in case they win an election. The thing which most exasperates them when they lose one is the seizure of the offices by the other fellows. When this city was throbbing last fall with horror over the revelations of the Lexow committee, and vowing before high heaven that this great shame should cease, what the political men were thinking of was the number

of offices the shame would probably give them, and the persons who would probably get them. Lauterbach went to work promptly, not to draft reform bills and bring criminals to justice, but to make out his "list," and Platt got the Legislature together to consider how many offices the mayor ought to give in payment of a reasonable amount of reform.

Another week has passed at Albany, making ten since the session began, and the various municipal reform bills have made no progress. The city-magistrates bill, the public-school bill, the real-estate sales bill have not advanced a particle from the positions which they occupied a week ago. They are all "hung up" under Platt's orders, and they will be kept so until the Platt men are frightened into taking them down. The chairmen of all the committees, especially those on cities and the judiciary, in both houses, are such servile Platt agents that it is impossible to reach them by ordinary powers of persuasion. Nothing less than a mass-meeting moves them, and then they respond as slightly as they think to be safe. It is necessary that the people, and especially the Republicans of the State, should realize the importance of exerting themselves to bring pressure upon these enemies of the public welfare. If this Legislature fails to keep the pledges upon which its Republican members were elected, it will be a long time before Republican promises of reform will be able to attract independent votes again in this State, and without that support the Republicans cannot hope to win. Then, too, the whole country is watching the struggle here, and if reform be defeated the effect upon national Republican prospects cannot fail to be disastrous.

The presentment of the special grand jury against the Police Department, accompanied by the indictment of eleven police officials, is another demand upon the Legislature for a thorough reorganization of that department. It emphasizes the popular verdict upon the revelations of the Lexow committee as expressed at the polls in November. It justifies and approves the work of the Committee of Seventy, both in the late election and in the preparation of measures of police reform since election. The voice of the city has been heard many times now. It spoke first in the election. It spoke again in the Cooper Union mass-meeting. It spoke again in the Chamber of Commerce meeting. It has spoken repeatedly through the Committee of Seventy, through the various reform organizations, and through other bodies of its leading citizens like the Union League Club. The special grand jury, like the Committee of Seventy, is a representative body of citizens, but it speaks for the city with even greater force, for it acts under legal restrictions and auspices which give its words especial

solemnity and weight. Even Lexow cannot denounce it as a "gang of reformers" merely.

The decision rendered by the Supreme Court of Illinois last week against the constitutionality of a recent eight-hour law of that State is essentially a declaration in favor of the right of free contract. The law provided that "no female shall be employed in any factory or workshop more than eight hours in any one day, or forty-eight hours in any one week." It was one of Gov. Altgeld's pet measures. The court holds that women and men are on the same footing as regards contracts regulating their labor and hours of work; that the restriction made by the law is in conflict with the provision of the State Constitution that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law," the right to labor or employ labor and to make contracts being included in this provision; the section which forbids women to work more than eight hours a day in a manufacturing establishment, while permitting them to work as many hours as they see fit at other occupations, is declared to be an unconstitutional discrimination. The court holds that the Legislature has no power to substitute its own judgment for the judgment of an employer and employee in a matter about which the latter are competent to reach an agreement, and it will not accept the plea that the provision quoted is a sanitary provision, and therefore justifiable as an exercise of the police authority of the State. This power the court does not think can be invoked to prevent injury to an individual in a particular calling. The object of this law was to protect women from the exactions of "sweat shops."

Dr. Coan, in his comments the other day upon Mr. Shearman's arraignment of the Missionaries' Sons in Hawaii, spoke of his "strange sensations" in hearing in this country attacks on missionaries which in Hawaii used to be heard only from the rabble. But his strange sensations can be nothing to those of the Hawaiians themselves. For years they had been referred to as the crowning glory of missionary enterprise, and their praise was in all the churches. What solemn rejoicing there was when the American Board announced that the Hawaiians were all Christians, that they needed no more missionaries, that they would maintain their own churches—not only that, but would themselves send missionaries to other Pacific islands. Read the accounts of the Hawaiians given by Dr. Coan's own father, that heroic and gentle pioneer. While not concealing their weaknesses, he had warm words for their simplicity, their kindliness, their love for their native rulers, and their patriotic pride. If it is a question of "strange sensations," what ones could be stranger than those of these simple-minded



ed natives as they read the abuse and slander poured out upon them by the American Board's agent in the islands, and by the pious clergyman, the Rev. Sereno E. Bishop, who a little while ago was praising and accepting favors from the very Queen that he has lately been charging with nameless vices. A good deal of this holy slander was reproduced with much effect in Senator Pettigrew's speech against annexation, and makes an edifying contrast to what the churches and Missionaries' Sons were all saying of the Hawaiians until the time came to rob them of land and flag.

The *Tribune* has addressed words of wisdom and solemn warning to Japan, which the rulers of that aspiring country will do well to heed. It takes occasion to point out that the acquisition of Chinese provinces, as a result of the war, would entail great embarrassments and expense upon the Japanese. Before rashly going ahead, it warns them to think of the large standing army they would have to maintain, of the fortresses and naval stations they would have to establish, and, particularly, of the loss of the great advantage they now enjoy of being free from foreign entanglements. In the same number of the *Tribune* a weighty protest is addressed to the French Government against squandering any more money in Madagascar. The present expedition is likely to cost \$25,000,000, and French taxpayers would rather have less glory and colonial expansion and more hard cash in their pockets. This is good traditional American doctrine, but we fear the cynical Japanese and French will look upon it very much as they would on an offer of cast-off clothing. Such faithful readers of the *Tribune* as they are, know well that it considers the true national policy to be one of universal grabbing and absorption: naval stations and strategic islands and focal points and "keys" to be added every day. And how, then, has it the face to preach economy and caution and peaceful methods to the Japanese just as they are getting into position to do some grabbing themselves?

The "man on horseback" is always just around the corner in Spain, and when debts grow onerous, when political factions get by the ears, when civil order is threatened, he is the man to whom society turns as its saviour. Castelar's republic was upset and the Cortes dispersed by the Captain-General of Madrid in 1873, and now Castelar's newspaper is sacked by a lot of young lieutenants, who, instead of being punished, become at once the heroes of the hour and start a popular cry for a soldier at the head of the government. Gen. Martinez Campos made a good part of his reputation in putting down the former Cuban rebellion, and the critical state of affairs in the island may now have much to do with the demand for his accession to the premiership. But

the appeal to him marks also a new stage in the disgust of Spaniards with the working of representative institutions as they have enjoyed them since the revolution of 1868. A civilian government they have found to mean a succession of factional chiefs, with the taxes ever growing and national bankruptcy ever nearer. The Constitution guarantees freedom of the press, but what do the young Hotspurs care for that, if the newspapers criticise them? Their first thought was to challenge all the editors, but finally they concluded to go and smash all the presses and office furniture and "stop the paper" in that effective way. The result has amply justified them, as the ministry was too cowardly to punish them, "adhesions" by telegraph came from all parts of the country, and the Government promptly resigned.

Indifference of the electors is urged by some French writers as a chief cause of the creaking and groaning of the machine of representative government in their country. They point to the recent municipal election of Marseilles, in which, out of 81,874 registered voters, but 17,848 took the trouble to go to the polls—this, though the cry that the Philistines, in the shape of the Socialists, were upon the city had been raised with great justification. A similar abstention of voters was noticeable in two elections lately held to fill vacancies in the Chamber: in one Paris arrondissement, and in the election of the late M. Burdeau's successor from Lyons, less than a quarter of the registered vote was cast. "If things go on in this way," says M. Paul Lafitte, who discusses the matter in the *Revue Bleue*, "municipal councillors chosen by one-fifth of the population will control one of the first cities of France, and Deputies elected by one-fourth of the voters will rule the country." Another writer analyzes the votes by which the present Chamber was elected, and asserts that three out of five voters took no part in its choice. The favorite remedy for the evil is that idle or suicidal one sometimes proposed in this country—compulsory voting. There is no chance, however, that it will be adopted in France any sooner than in this country, or that citizens there will be led to take an interest in politics from any motives but those which rule in every land of free suffrage, namely, political ambition or public spirit or self-interest or self-defence.

Mr. James Bryce has introduced a bill in the House of Commons authorizing the Board of Trade to inquire into the cause of labor disputes, to invite arbitration of them, to appoint the arbitrators, and to send for persons and papers and administer oaths in arbitration proceedings. That any such scheme will be more effective in England than here we doubt very much. The central difficulty is that if the decision be against labor, the employer will not

get any labor at all, or get only discontented labor, and he will vastly prefer fighting his quarrel out until labor surrenders at discretion, or until he comes to an amicable agreement with it of his own motion, or until he is able to fill the places of the strikers with new persons eager for work. No plan for making defeated labor go back to work contentedly has yet been hit upon. They have sought to solve the problem in some of the Australian colonies by incorporating the trades unions, so that they could make contracts and be responsible in damages for breaches. But the responsibility in damages will be useful only when they have money in their treasury, and if they saw a case going against them, they would probably make away with it. In short, there is no way of getting around the fact that the root of the labor trouble is the low state of morality among the laborers, and in this world you must have either character or money to pull you through.

Whatever may be the decision of the German Government, under stress of political weather, in regard to letting loose a new flood of international palaver on silver, it is clear that the business sense of the empire is dead against any change in the monetary standard. On February 22, but a few days after the Chancellor had thrown his sop to the agrarians in the Reichstag, the German Board of Trade (*Handelstag*) took up the matter. There were present representatives of 104 different commercial and industrial associations, from all the leading trade centres, and without a dissenting vote the following resolution was adopted:

"The German Board of Trade stands by its declaration voted in full meeting on March 12, 1886, that the German gold standard ought not to be interfered with; such interference should be looked upon as a deadly blow at the entire commercial life of the German Empire, and against it too loud and emphatic protests cannot be made."

The president was also authorized to call a special meeting of the board to take further and more urgent action if it should appear necessary. Writing of the significance of these proceedings, in the *Berlin Nation* of March 2, Ludwig Bambergier took the view that the attitude of the German merchants would make the Government give up the conference altogether. The latest despatches, however, seem to show that Hohenlohe is being pushed ahead by the council of state, and that a conference will be called. Opinions will differ as to the wisdom of such a course. That silver will emerge from any such conference more maltreated and outraged than ever is certain. Stewart is perfectly right about this. Meanwhile, from the silver standpoint, much precious time will be lost. Thousands of new mortgages will be executed by Stewart and others containing the deadly gold clause, and the business world will have time to intrench itself still more impregnably on the gold standard.



## CONGRESS AND THE CONSTITUTION.

It would be difficult to overestimate the gravity of the discussion which has been going on before the Supreme Court in Washington on the income tax. The position taken on behalf of the tax by Mr. Olney and Mr. Carter is that Congress is the great depository of the rights and privileges of the people; that Congress might not, it is true, exercise the taxing power arbitrarily, as, for instance, by taxing bald-headed men, but it might tax the rich because they were rich, for the benefit of the poor, and classify the population in any way it pleased for the purposes of taxation, and is the sole judge whether taxes are direct or indirect, uniform or not. Mr. Olney was equally emphatic in declaring that Congress could not make a mistake in declaring what public policy required in the matter of imposing burdens on some portions of the community from which others were exempt. "On that point Congress was the sole and final authority," and its decision, once made, was binding on all other departments of the Government. The court has already decided, too, that it may go further than this, and give a name to a tax, for administrative purposes, which will take it out of constitutional prohibitions, without reference to the facts—call it indirect, for instance, when it is direct, or uniform when it is discriminating; that is, has complete powers of nomenclature—dictionaries and popular usage notwithstanding. The court has also decided that, in the matter of currency, Congress may give the name of "money" to anything it pleases; that it may decree the circulation as legal tender of irredeemable paper as well as coin, and, presumably, authorize a man to pay his debts in any material it may choose to designate for the purpose. Congress has also, with the sanction of the court, taken away the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus from large bodies of unoffending persons who may be accused of having come here as "contract laborers," and denied to the courts the power of passing on the facts of their case, and enabled a subordinate officer of the Government to keep them in confinement for a practically unlimited period.

All this is done or permitted under the rule that Congress is supreme judge of what the "policy" of the nation ought to be. Ever since the war, the decisions of the Supreme Court have been steadily extending the range of this power of deciding what our policy ought to be. The only restrictions it has attempted to place on congressional powers of legislation have been in the deliverance of the States from some of the encroachments on their police powers which sprang up in the reconstruction period. Should the powers now claimed for it in the matter of taxation be added to the powers already secured in the matter of currency, it will have firm and unrestricted hold of the chief interests of the individual—of those which most nearly concern his happiness and

prosperity. Unrestricted power of taxation is the greatest power over accumulated wealth, manufactures, industry, and personal freedom which any government can have; for liberty, as Hampden found out, cannot be worth much to a man who may be taxed in any way some other man pleases. If, in fact, the Supreme Court should sustain the income tax on the grounds set out in Mr. Carter's and Mr. Olney's briefs, Congress will stand practically in the position of the British Parliament, without the mass of customs and traditions which keep Parliament in check, and the Constitution will be mainly interesting as a somewhat obscure but venerable record of eighteenth-century political philosophy. Legislative power on any matter of great importance it will not have.

Whether this will be a good or bad state of things will depend on the kind of Congress we shall have. During the past hundred years our great boast has been that we had, by means of a written constitution, discovered at last the means of protecting liberty and property against the excesses and passions of democratic legislatures, and especially against the attacks on property of the poor, the greedy, and unscrupulous. In fact, it is largely on this ground that the Constitution was recommended for general adoption. For such a constitution the propertied and saving classes all over Europe are sighing to-day as they tremble before the advances of a fanatical socialistic democracy. We have on this account, we venture to say, more than on any other, excited the envy of all other nations. The Congresses we have had ever since the war, or at all events ever since 1870, have done a good deal to justify this envy to ourselves. When we recall their dealings with the two great questions of the tariff and the currency within that period, the idea of releasing our politicians from all restraints in deciding on policy might well alarm even the bravest of us. The idea that this last one, which has just dispersed, could have a "policy" of any kind, will excite the merriment of any one familiar with its members and their work.

Of course it may be said that, after all, Congress is the product of the popular vote, and to say that its errors cannot be corrected by the popular vote is to deny the fitness of democracy for the work of government. This is true of a united population which in its politics seeks only the general good by different methods. It is not true of a population in which class has been set against class, and the man who has saved and accumulated is marked out as a proper subject of taxation for the benefit of everybody who, *for any reason*, has less than he has. Nothing more certain to bring constitutional government to ruin than this idea working among a voting population, most of whom are poor, could be devised.

## ECONOMIC FICTION.

APPROPOS of the discussion over the income tax, it is worthy of note that nearly every argument in its favor is based on the assumption that Congress is somewhat in the position of a benevolent and extremely wise despot, who is seriously occupied with the problem of making taxation equitable and just, of making every man pay according to his ability, and no more. In fact, all rules of taxation framed by economists, including Adam Smith's famous rules, rest on the same theory. They all presuppose governments to desire just taxation, and to be anxious to receive light from the thinkers and economists as to what just taxation is. There has probably never been any age of the world in which theories of taxation were so much discussed by economists and sociologists, in which these gentlemen wrote so many books, and in which there were so many chairs in colleges devoted to instruction in the science of society, as the present one. Everything, or nearly everything, they say, however, has reference to what may be called an ideal world—that is, a world in which highly instructed men hold the reins of power, in which the observations of philosophers on social phenomena are carefully considered, and as far as possible embodied in legislation.

This view of the powers that be has been carried into the Supreme Court in the present arguments on the income tax, and has been already embodied by the Supreme Court itself in several decisions. Congress, according to these decisions, has a "public policy," based, as "public policy" should always be, on careful consideration of the national history, character, and manners, and tendencies, and of the national resources, checked and widened by the experience of the human race in other ages and countries. But if all other species of literature were to be lost, and we were to be known to posterity only through our books and lectures on taxation, political economy, and the science of government, we doubt if our descendants would get from them any idea of the kind of governments we really lived under. "Surely," they would say, "these ancients cannot have discharged all this wisdom into the desert air. There must have been legislators in all countries who gave ear to these treatises, and who sought to embody in their acts these remarkable fruits of philosophic research and meditation." What would be their astonishment, however, to find that this class had very little influence on legislation, and, in fact, that this influence diminished as institutions became more democratic, and as the cultivation of political science in the colleges and in literature increased.

The truth is, that our economists and professors are in this matter living in a fool's paradise. The government of the world has passed, or is passing rapidly, into the hands of men who know them not, or, if they know them, contemn

them. The "State" which they are saddling with so much responsibility, does not exist and probably never will exist. Their theories of taxation and their analyses of taxation with which they load their magazines, are looked on by the rulers of the world as so much idle speculation. They get but a contemptuous hearing in most legislative committee rooms. We have heard from a financier who went on to Washington to discuss with the committee of Congress the conditions of the late loan, that he found his audience so ignorant of the principles of finance and exchange, and so suspicious of him as a capitalist, that he forebore to say anything. The same thing would be true at Albany. The best minds in this city have been at work on reformatory bills, but they found their labors rejected with scorn by farmers and small lawyers. Loudly as our system of State taxation calls for reform, it has been found impossible in thirty years to secure any legislative attention to any new scheme framed by competent hands.

The lesson of all this is, not that we must sit down and despair of mankind, but that we should oppose every attempt to add to the powers of Government, and to enable simple majorities to get at people's property. If democracy should perish as previous systems have perished, it will probably be through attempting too much; and yet the tendency in that direction is very strong, and it is encouraged by many of the educated and wealthy class with a sort of suicidal *insouciance*. Take the assertion that the rich may fairly be set apart for heavy taxation for the benefit of the poor, which is at the bottom of the progressive income tax and the inheritance tax. All the economists who have advocated these have done so on a theory, probably hardly ever thoroughly thought out, that there was somewhere, above both rich and poor, some sort of earthly Providence who would see that the rich paid no more than they could bear, and did not pay enough to make them emigrate, or to weaken among young men the desire to accumulate, or, in other words, that the tax was just and scientific. If one of them had been asked, Would you think it just and expedient that the poor should decide how much the rich ought to pay, and treat the rich as a class apart, whose liabilities should be measured by the desire of the poor to be rich themselves?—he would undoubtedly answer that he never dreamed of such a thing; that class government was odious to him, and that he knew as well as any one the danger of driving the rich away by over-taxation. But there is no such power. The State is not an earthly Providence. The poor now hold the Government in most constitutional states, and the political motive which is most powerful among them is to make the rich pay as much as possible of the public expenses. They measure the rich man's fortune by the

amount he has to spend, and they refuse to consider the general effect on industrial activity, and the desire to accumulate, of serious interference with his spending.

What most occupies the minds of the masses in all countries to-day is the possibility of a new mode of distributing wealth. The socialistic section wishes to seize all the means of production—land, mines, factories, and stock—or, in other words, rob the rich on a great scale. The less advanced section wishes simply to get at them by heavy taxation, and principally through direct taxes like the income tax, so as to make it less pleasant to be rich, to discourage the heaping up of wealth. It wishes, in other words, to destroy or greatly weaken the motive of nearly all our industrial activity, of nearly all efforts to "get on" in the world on the part of every class above the manual laborer, though this is the motive to which we owe nine-tenths of the material progress of the country during the past century. In fact, the socialistic agitation of the last few years has carried men's thoughts strongly towards schemes of more or less disguised spoliation, and away from the cultivation of character and frugality as commercial factors.

The main objection to our income tax is that it fosters these tendencies. It furnishes one class of the community (*i. e.*, the people who have not succeeded in securing four thousand a year) with legal machinery for charging another class (*i. e.*, those who have secured more than four thousand a year) with a large proportion of their own liabilities. It relieves all this first class, which is the more numerous, of the payment of a certain sum of money, and makes the members of the second class pay it. And it gets the help of a host of jurists and economists in spreading the fiction that this arrangement has been ordered after mature consideration and with a hearty desire to do what is exactly right and just, by a very wise body called Congress, which decides nothing without taking the interests of all classes into account. There has probably never been such ignoring of the facts of life as in this discussion.

#### INCOME TAXES IN 1787.

THE printed briefs and arguments in the income-tax case will be read with great interest. They will make, when bound, two large volumes. Those offered by Mr. Seward, and bearing exclusively on the inquiry whether or not, in 1787 and thereafter, income taxes were used by the States of the Confederation, or afterwards by the States in Union, are intensely interesting in historical and economic aspects. The assemblage of so many controlling historic facts could have been made only by painstaking and enterprising search in the now excellent libraries of many historical societies. The learned monograph by Prof. Max West of the University of Chicago,

on the teachings by political economists in regard to a definition of direct taxes, which the lawyers honored by presentation to the court in one of the contesting briefs, is an illumination for students.

The contestants of the income-tax law asserted that the tax is a "direct tax," and that the law imposing it is void because the tax is not apportioned between the several States upon the basis of the census; and if the tax be an "excise," it is void because not "uniform" throughout the United States. The attorney general does not seem to have relied much on *stare decisis*, which, in lawyers' lingo, means that a previous decision of the court is to control when the same question is again presented. He merely said this: "If your Honors find this tax to be a direct tax, you can only do so by overruling five of the decisions heretofore given by this court." Alluding to the five decisions, Mr. Carter said in his brief: "To attempt at this late day to revise and reverse this unanimity of opinion, without the aid of new *historical* light, would be an extreme folly." That implied clearly that, in the opinion of the Government, *stare decisis* ought not to prevail against new historical facts showing that in 1787 "direct taxes" were generally understood to include income taxes. Mr. Carter distinctly conceded that, by these sentences in his brief:

"It should be remembered that at that time what is now understood by an income tax was unknown. . . . The true inquiry is: What did those who adopted the Constitution mean? If there was at that time a clear, distinct, and well-known sense in which the term was used, the inference is very strong that such is its meaning in the particular case, unless there is something in the context pointing to a different signification. But if there was then no well known and accepted meaning of the term, we must look altogether to the context and the surrounding circumstances for a right interpretation."

The attorney-general also conceded that the meaning of "direct taxes" is to be ascertained by traversing the historic route, for he said:

"The legal definition of direct taxes in the Constitution is in truth not a scientific, but an historic one. The distinction made between direct taxes on the one hand and duties, imposts, and excises on the other formed part of one of the most famous compromises of the Constitutional Convention. By direct taxes the delegates meant certain taxes, and no other. They meant poll taxes and taxes on real property. This definition was fully explained by the Supreme Court in *Hylton vs. United States*."

Hylton's case was the "carriage case" decided in 1796.

Mr. Seward, and they who denounced the constitutionality of the odious income tax of 1894, insisted that the definition of "direct taxes" made by the court in four of the cited cases—the substituting of "land" for "direct" in the critical phrase—was a servile following of an uninformed definition in the first case of the five, which was the "carriage case"; that the definition was not based on evidence tending to show the sense in which the words were used by those who framed or adopted the Constitution, and



that even five such opinions are not to be considered as controlling, if new evidence shall be presented which conclusively establishes that the conclusions reached in the antecedent cases were erroneous. Courts, it was said, habitually reverse former decisions when new facts show that such former decisions were not well founded. Mr. Seward's brief exhibits what the opponents of the tax claimed were historic facts not presented to the court in any of the five cases. Some of the facts were, perhaps, not accessible when the "carriage tax" was decided. Certainly they were not obtained and used in the Springer case, argued by Mr. Springer, as Mr. Choate cynically remarked.

The facts are really new, in an historic sense, even to historians, and are so important generally that we shall endeavor to give very concisely the substance of them as presented by Mr. Seward. Under the Confederation, requisitions upon the States were, as every one knows, met by their own systems of taxation. Taxes were imposed by all the States upon land, polls, and specifically enumerated articles of property, including carriages. The requisitions were also met by a tax upon incomes. Vermont, by a law passed in 1779, rated certain classes of citizens in the lists proportionable to their gains and returns. Massachusetts, by the laws of 1706, 1738, and 1777, imposed a tax on "incomes from any profession, faculty, handicraft, trade, or employment," and the act of 1777 was continued by the Constitution of that State. An income tax is now imposed by Massachusetts in accordance with these laws, and has been so imposed since 1706. Connecticut, by a law passed in 1769, provided that all trades, tradesmen, and artificers should be rated proportionably to their gains and returns. Pennsylvania, in order to comply with a federal requisition, passed an act in 1782 by which all offices and positions of profit, trades, occupations, and professions were to be rated at the discretion of the assessors, having due regard to the profits arising from them. In Delaware a rule was established by the assessors and confirmed by long usage, to assess all persons at one-fifth part of their annual income. In New Jersey all artificers and persons in places of profit were made liable to an assessment for the same, according to the discretion of the assessors. In Virginia a tax was levied on lands and houses in towns of five-sixths of one per cent. of the ascertained or estimated yearly income arising from that species of property. In South Carolina a tax was imposed in 1701 upon estates, goods, merchandise, stocks, abilities, offices and places of profit of whatever kind or nature soever.

All of these taxes, whether upon lands, polls, or income, were proved to the court, by the debates in the conventions of the several States called to ratify the Constitution, to have been named and

identified in each one of the States as "direct taxes" and to have been paid by the people, under the name of "direct taxes," for the joint support of their several States and of the federal Government. No other name was given at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, nor has any other name ever since been given to such taxes so paid by the States. The debates in the State conventions which were offered in evidence seem to us to prove that the delegates understood the difference between "direct taxes" and "indirect taxes," and acted, in the formation of the Constitution and in the provisions for the protection of the several States incorporated therein, upon the accepted definition of such terms. These State conventions, as well as the Philadelphia convention, drew a line of distinction between such direct taxes as they were then paying for the support of the general Government, including therein a tax upon income, and indirect taxes, such as excises, duties, and imposts.

These were the new facts which were brought before the court for the first time in the present cases. They show that Mr. Carter was mistaken when he said that, at the date of the adoption of the Constitution (1787), what is now understood by an income tax was "unknown." They also show, and precisely as Mr. Carter required, that "there was at that time a clear, distinct, and well-known sense in which the term [direct taxes] was used." If this be so, then Mr. Carter's further statement that "the inference is very strong that such was its meaning in the particular case," was correct, and was justified by the new evidence, and, therefore, the words "direct taxes" as used in the Constitution did include a tax on income in the understanding of those who inserted that phrase and who were at the time paying such a tax for the support of the federal Government.

It further appears from the new evidence that Chief Justice Marshall, when a delegate to the Virginia convention, said: "The objects of direct taxes are well understood. They are but few. What are they? Lands, slaves, stock of all kinds, and a few other articles of domestic property." He was speaking for the State of Virginia and of such taxes as were then imposed by that State. The "few other articles of domestic property" specified by him included a tax on carriages, under the then law of the State of Virginia. Mr. Madison concurred in the judgment that a tax on carriages was a direct tax within the meaning of the Constitution. It is quite evident, therefore, that if Mr. Marshall had been chief justice at the time of the decision in the "carriage case," he would not have concurred in the opinion of the court that the tax on carriages involved in that case was not a direct tax, but was an indirect duty.

#### "LABOR" VS. WORK AND WAGES.

LEGISLATIVE "hearings" are seldom scenes to which a wise man would resort in the hope of hearing wholesome truth set forth without fear or favor; but the hearing granted week before last by the committee on mercantile affairs of the Massachusetts Legislature was an occasion at which anybody but a legislator might have profited. The committee was about to go South to investigate the question of the competition between Southern cotton-mills and those of New England, and first invited some of the leading cotton-manufacturers of the State to present their views of the question. Such well-known men as Mr. Jefferson Coolidge, W. C. Lovering, A. A. Lawrence, and Joseph Healey appeared before the committee, and their remarks discovered a most extraordinary state of things.

The first point these manufacturers set forth with convincing evidence was the fact that their industry remains in New England at all only on sufferance. It is away from the raw material. It is away from a cheap coal-supply. It has to employ high-priced labor. On its side is the advantage of skill and experience, but these the Southerners are rapidly acquiring, and adding to their natural advantages for the manufacture of cotton. Within the past two years Massachusetts increased her spindles absolutely less, and comparatively much less, than the four Southern States which have taken up cotton-spinning. In the South new mills are building every day, while not one is building in New England.

Thus the natural tendency clearly is for the cotton industry of Massachusetts to go ultimately where her rolling-mills have gone, where her locomotive-works have gone, where her furniture-factories have gone, and where her shoe-manufacturing shows signs of going—"to seek the base of supplies," as Mr. Lovering said. Mr. Coolidge spoke with emphasis on the question of coal-supply. In the South, coal can be had for eighty cents to \$1.50 a ton. "In Lowell the same coal will cost from \$3.50 to \$4.50." In his mill the item of coal alone meant an extra cost, as compared with the South, of \$60,000 a year. This shows how true a representative of his section that New England Senator was—it was Senator Hoar, we believe—who said in the tariff debate that no New England manufacturer had asked for free coal. The Southern cost of labor is, according to Mr. Coolidge, 30 per cent. less than that in Massachusetts, and the mills are run from an hour to an hour and a half longer each day.

Now, with this fatal handicap laid upon Massachusetts cotton-mills, with the almost absolute certainty that they must ultimately go South in spite of everything, what would it be expected that the policy of the State would be towards them? Would not one say that the Legislature of Massachusetts, the stronghold of protec-



tion, the sacred seat of the Home Market Club, would surely do everything in its power to retain the industry, to refrain from assaults upon the \$130,000,000 of capital invested in it, and to throw every make-weight into the scale in order to withstand the natural tendency as long as possible? But what are the facts? It has, in the first place, laid a great burden of direct taxation upon the mills. Mr. Coolidge said that a Massachusetts mill that had to pay \$90,000 a year in taxes would, under English rates, pay no more than \$30,000 to \$40,000, while in the South it would not be taxed at all. But, worse than this, it has year after year pursued and pestered the manufacturers with "labor" legislation, until, as Mr. Lovering said, "No sooner does the Legislature assemble than a tremor runs through our business community—a fear lest some act will be done that will threaten the existence of our industries, or further impair the extremely small margin upon which they are carried on." Mr. Coolidge affirmed that the trades-unions and the bills "got-up by some man who is mostly concerned with some fancy to do good to mankind," had already forced him to sell goods at a loss, and that it was simply a question of getting some relief or going South. Mr. Healey was blunt enough, and said: "I will tell you frankly when I was present and looking at the House of Representatives in this capitol, one would have thought it was the headquarters of the labor unions." He was told that the South's turn for labor legislation would soon come, and that then matters would be evened up; but what comfort was that to him if in the meantime he was ruined?

As a matter of fact, a Southern Legislature, that of North Carolina, was, almost at the same time, displaying a business sense that ought to make the Massachusetts Representatives blush for their Yankee 'cuteness. At Raleigh, as at Boston, "labor" was on hand with its bills for regulating the cotton-mills. But the whole batch of them was tabled as fast as they came up, and no more philanthropic reasons were given for this action than "the argument that any legislative 'monkeying' with the present condition of cotton-mill labor in this section would check the Southern movement in cotton-manufacturing, and cause many Northern investors who now contemplate putting money into Southern cotton-mill property to seek other fields for the safe and profitable investment of their capital."

The whole affair is an extreme but characteristic illustration of the idea that has got into so many heads that it is possible to legislate for "labor" without affecting work and wages. A "committee on labor" is about the deadliest enemy industry has to encounter. Suppose the Department of Labor were called the Department of Work; does not everybody see that all the glamour would be gone? "Labor" is not really concerned about work, about steady employment and regular

wages, but about certain dignities and privileges, about certain crampings and hamperings of capital. It is not often, however, that the folly and fatuity of it are so patent as in this Massachusetts experience. The greatest folly of all is to suppose, as the sapient men at Boston did, that if North Carolina would only vex and oppress the manufacturers, then they could be kept in Massachusetts. Persecuted in one State, the manufacturers will undoubtedly flee to another; but persecuted in all States, they will simply cease to be manufacturers. Before confiscation in the name of "labor" arrives, there will be nothing to confiscate.

## Correspondence.

### THE ONLY POINT OF ATTACK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In an editorial of the 14th inst. you pointed out in the strongest terms the danger of the reckless way in which Congress squanders the public money, and that the true cause lies in the anarchy, the want of cohesion and discipline, of that body. You then remark: "A thorough-going remedy it is idle to hope for. Other civilized governments themselves take exclusive charge of revenue and appropriation bills. To suggest that at Washington would have no more effect than an east wind blowing over the capitol."

But Washington is not the only place in the country. If civil-service reform had been left to the initiative of Congress, the Greek kalends might have passed before the first step was taken. What was accomplished was reached by popular agitation through the country. And the new issue is infinitely more important, because it covers the whole conduct of government, including civil service reform just as much as the finances.

It is beginning to dawn upon the public mind that the tap-root of our difficulties lies in the usurped supremacy of Congress—as well as the State legislatures—in every department of government, executive, legislative, and judicial. The problem is to make the Legislature let go its hold and consent to restore the balance—first of executive power, in which stands first of all "exclusive charge of revenue and appropriation bills." This means war to the knife; a fight as bitter, though not as bloody, as that with slavery itself. It must be admitted, too, that the fight is against tremendous odds. The executive consists of one man, while Congress includes 450, all ready to pounce as one man upon the luckless individual who, in defence of the rights of his office on behalf of the public interest, shall dare to expose himself to the charge of personal ambition.

But there is no other road. This fact is well illustrated by the palpable inadequacy of the expedient which you suggest as a substitute because it appears to be more practicable of attainment. It fails because it seeks to evade the real issue—the overwhelming predominance of Congress—which is the keynote of the whole struggle.

There is this strong point on the other side, that popular enthusiasm always gravitates towards personality, and only needs the right kind to bring it out in irresistible force. I believe there is gathering in the public mind a mass of

seething if silent indignation, which, like the electricity in a thunder-cloud, waits only for a lightning-rod or a tree-top to draw it forth. Mr. Cleveland's bond sale did more to put the question into concrete shape than anything since the war. Can it be possible that he will have the insight, the courage, and the patriotism to go steadily forward in the same path? May God grant it! G. B.

Boston, March 16, 1895.

### THE INCOME TAX.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read the arguments before the United States Supreme Court on the question of the constitutionality of the income tax as reported in my newspaper. Mr. Choate's position is, that a tax on the income from land is a tax on the land itself, and therefore a direct tax, which, under article I, section 2, of the Constitution, must be laid according to numbers. But this objection would invalidate the act only *pro tanto*—in respect only to incomes arising from land. It strikes me that the true ground is that the tax is virtually a capitation tax, which is forbidden unless laid in proportionate numbers (article I, section 9).

Now, there can be but two kinds of tax in respect to the subject of taxation—a tax on persons and a tax on things. A tax on things belongs to one or other of these two heads: (1) Imports, synonymous (see Worcester) with customs, and Duties on Imports; or (2) Excises, which I quote from Walker's "American Law," a standard authority: "are impositions exacted upon the manufacture, retail, or consumption of commodities." Thus imports, customs, duties, embrace things imported from abroad, and excises are taxes on things made, sold, or consumed at home. And both these taxes have for their sole subject, not persons, but things; and things that are tangible, that can be—not indirectly or potentially, but directly and actually—used or consumed. Now, does the income tax belong to this category? If it does not—if it is not a tax on things—it must be a tax on persons; in other words, virtually a capitation tax.

It is true that there exist taxes which are neither on persons nor on things that are tangible, such as license taxes, or taxes imposed to authorize the pursuit of a certain trade or business. But this species of taxation is exercised under the general police powers that inhere in every state or national government, and the real object of which is not revenue, but the regulation of certain trades or businesses or to subserve some special public policy under those same police powers which are practically unlimited. An instance of this is the 10 per cent. tax on the circulation of State banks, the object of which, as every one knows, was not to add to the nation's revenues, but to secure to the people a safe and sound currency. Such taxes may bring in more or less income to the Government, but this effect is only incidental. They would often be laid and continued even if they brought nothing into the Treasury at all, and relating only to the exercise of police, or quasi-police, powers, they are not such taxes as are contemplated in the Constitution.

My conclusion is, that the income tax, being a direct tax on persons, and laid, not according to numbers, but according to the incomes of the taxpayers, is unconstitutional.

FRANCIS J. LIPPITT.

ANNAPOLIS, MD., March 15, 1895.

## WHEAT AND SILVER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your article, "A Pessimistic Outlook," in No. 1549, you mention "the popular belief, in many parts of the country, that if silver money were set afloat in large quantities, poor people would somehow get some of it into their pockets—an hallucination, which," etc. With the wheat-raisers of the Northwest this is not altogether "an hallucination," but a fact easy of demonstration.

These farmers are all in debt, and the debts are of several years' standing. They were contracted when money was plentiful—that is, when wheat was above a dollar a bushel, and everything else in proportion. With wheat at only 52 cents, it is plain that the effect is to double these debts. If some scheme could be devised to reduce their debts in the same ratio in which the volume of money in the country has shrunk—as measured by the price of wheat—then, no doubt, they would be in favor of sound money, with wheat and everything else cheap in the same proportion. Nor is it the original debt alone which is doubled by the low price of wheat, but the interest also. With wheat at a dollar a bushel, 8 per cent. was as easy to pay as 4 per cent. is with wheat at 50 cents.

And there is another point that persons in the East fail to consider. The very cheapness of living has raised the price of farm labor, especially at the harvest time, to the wheat-farmer, and increased its difficulties and annoyance. During the harvesting, many more hands are required than are kept the year round on the farm. These additional hands are, necessarily, of an inferior class—transients, tramps, hobos. The very fact that a man can be hired for a temporary job indicates that he is not good for much; good men have steady work. These harvest hands work till they receive their first payment, then quit and loaf, drinking and lounging as long as their money lasts. Then they work another spell, and so on. Any decrease in the cost of living and loafing only lengthens the intervals that they can lie idle; and also enables them to demand greater inducement to work at all—higher wages. This is no theory; it is the exact condition as it exists.

Now what the wheat-farmer wants is some sort of inflation that will raise the price of wheat and enable him to pay off the debts he contracted when wheat was high—some kind of bankrupt scheme, as it were, that will set him free from his back debts, but leave him his farm and stock. If he could but get a new start, he would care little whether money were scarce or plenty, whether all things were dear or cheap, so long as they were dear or cheap in the same ratio.—Very respectfully,

MATTHEW F. STEELE.

STURGIS, S. D., March 11, 1895.

## NEWSPAPER READING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your article "Newspaper Dementia," in the *Nation* of March 14, touches a sore spot. It is true that the tone of our daily papers is deplorably low, cynical, and silly. In conversation I have frequently heard this remarked, sometimes with the addition that in this part of the country very little is read besides the daily paper and the latest novel. Upon such occasions a certain argument (a true newspaper argument) was sure to be brought forward, though it is curiously ludicrous. Some

of those discussing the subject would surely say: "You must remember that this is a new country, and that European culture is many centuries older than ours." I have heard very intelligent people make this remark, and they did not seem to perceive its fallacy; it had come to them through the newspapers. They had forgotten that the Europeans who came here brought European culture with them, and remained in constant literary intercourse with the mother country; quite forgotten, also, what upon other occasions we do not fail to boast of, namely, that enormous efforts have long been made in this country in matters of education, and that in no country are donations for that purpose given so liberally and generously as among ourselves.

When we remind our friends of these facts, they are apt to say that people in this country are kept too busy in developing the great resources of the country and in making money. But it is easy to show that we have great leisure classes. First and foremost the children of the rich. These are, as a rule, remote from literary or scientific pursuits, and employ themselves in spending what their fathers earned. Next the women, in countless numbers, who have received a liberal education and are married to men of means. These are fully occupied with society duties and with the latest novels. Next the great army of professors and teachers who have two holidays each week during the school year, besides the long summer vacations. These say that when the school-day (of five or six hours) is at an end, they need rest; and when the five school-days end, they sorely need rest; and when the school-year ends, they are absolutely worn out.

These facts being mentioned, our friends, unwilling that we should appear thus wanting in literary interest, will "point with pride" to our public libraries. But inquire, we answer, as to what people get from the libraries, and you find the irrepressible novel uppermost. The strongest evidence, however, for the fact that very little is read in these parts besides the daily paper and the daily novel, is the almost total absence of a book trade. Almost the only books that can be bought here (besides novels) are books for practical purposes—law-books, medical books, popular theological books (for Theology with us is intensely practical). Now let any American travelling abroad note the difference in the literary atmosphere. In 1891, on a European tour, the first town I saw was Bremen, a mere trading town or commercial city. But how great was my surprise and how refreshing the fact that there were book concerns, three or four, well supplied with literary and scientific novelties.

Where, then, are we at fault? I should say that all our energies go to what we call the practical. Everything with us must serve a practical purpose—that is, some purpose whose utility can be estimated in money; whatever has no such commercial value is apt to be regarded as unworthy of attention or mental effort. So in our schools and colleges. The result is, that our young people fail to acquire scientific or literary tastes. Our libraries would be filled with books of better calibre had we the readers; and our great universities would turn out more men and women filled with thirst for truth and its discovery, did these institutions receive in greater number young people in whom that noble passion had been planted so as to take root.

Respectfully, WERNER A. STILLE.

ST. LOUIS, March 16, 1895.

## A NEW REVIEW.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am glad to see that the suggestion of a new Review, recently made in your columns, is receiving attention. Given a management which shall be above the temptation to use such a Review as a mere money-making enterprise, which shall consider the inherent excellence of an article of more importance than the notoriety of its author, and the only bias of which shall be a bias for the sensible, well-considered discussion of such topics as would naturally claim a place in its columns, and it does seem that a living patronage might be secured.

There are many classes from which support could be drawn. The libraries belonging to institutions of learning, cities, towns, and associations of various kinds reach somewhere into the thousands in number. There are several thousands of college professors, instructors, etc., and a very much larger number of superintendents, principals, and teachers in the higher grades of our public schools who have sufficient interest in such matters to realize the value of such a Review. In the ranks of our physicians and lawyers is a large and increasing number of men interested in periodical literature of the better sort. The ministry of the various religious denominations supply thousands more of the same sort.

Should an effort be made to launch such a Review, all these classes can be reached with comparative ease, as lists of their names and addresses are easily obtained, and each class mentioned would certainly furnish a great many subscribers, if the names behind the movement were such as to command immediate respect and confidence. Of course there is a wide field for effort among men and women of literary tastes and pursuits outside the special classes enumerated above.

I am not sanguine enough to suppose that subscribers would flock in to such an extent as to enrich publishers, pay princely salaries to editors, and give contributors the scale of pay which a Kipling or a Du Maurier can command from the great magazines. A sufficient patronage to secure the proprietors against any irksome financial burden ought to be considered a success, and inasmuch as the field to be entered is absolutely unoccupied, the impossibility of securing this amount of support would be a severe reflection on American culture.

W. H. JOHNSON.

DENISON UNIVERSITY,  
GRANVILLE, OHIO, March 1, 1895.

## Notes.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. announce 'Russian Rambles,' by Miss Isabel F. Hapgood; 'After-Dinner and Other Speeches,' by ex-Governor John D. Long of Massachusetts; 'Chocorua's Tenants,' poems by the late Frank Bolles; a translation of selected essays by the late James Darmesteter; and 'Daughters of the Revolution,' by Charles Carleton Coffin.

Little, Brown & Co.'s spring announcements include 'Children of the Soil,' from the Polish of Sienkiewicz; 'A Madonna of the Alps,' from the German of B. Schulze-Smidt; 'Tales of the Fairies and of the Ghost-World, collected from oral tradition in Southwest Munster,' by Jeremiah Curtin; 'Pleasure Cycling,' by Henry Clyde; 'The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I.,' by Sir Frederick Pollock and Prof. F. W. Maitland, in two



volumes; and 'The Cause of Hard Times,' by Uriel H. Crocker.

Besides Prof. McMaster's fourth volume, D. Appleton & Co. have nearly ready 'Actual Africa: or, the Coming Continent,' by Frank Vincent; 'The Gods, Some Mortals, and Lord Wickenham,' by John Oliver Hobbes; 'Bog-myrtle and Peat,' by S. R. Crockett; 'Majesty,' a novel, by Louis Couperus; 'The Story of Sonny Sahib,' by Mrs. Everard Cotes (Sara Jeanette Duncan); and a new edition of Smith's 'Dictionary of Terms, Phrases, and Quotations.'

Macmillan & Co. will publish a Life of Adam Smith by John Rae; 'Studies in Social Life and Theory,' edited by B. Bosanquet; and, in connection with J. M. Dent & Co., a translation of Balzac's works under the editorship and direct supervision of Mr. George Saintsbury, with etched illustrations.

A novelty in advertising is Mr. Unwin's 'Good Reading about Many Books, mostly by their Authors,' of which the title describes the contents. Mrs. Craigie ('John Oliver Hobbes') begins the confessions of Mr. Unwin's clients, followed by S. R. Crockett, W. M. Conway, and many other men and women bidden by their publisher each "to discourse of my craft, and especially of my apprenticeship thereto." Autographs and portraits make the collection still more curious, and the form is taking. Some American writers are on the list.

The reprinting of classical novels promises to go forward this year with renewed activity, and with no falling off in mechanical beauty. We have already spoken of the Macmillan series which began with Miss Edgeworth's 'Castle Rackrent'—plain duodecimos, in excellent typography and tasteful binding, very reasonable in price. The second issue is Marryat's 'Japhet in Search of a Father,' and we need say no more of it than that the illustrations are clever beyond the average. Yet we will add that, at the very end of the introduction with which each volume is to be supplied, the printer's devil has changed *picaresque* into "picturesque." The same firm publish vicariously in this country the Bohn's Novelist's Library (London: George Bell & Sons), of which we now receive Smollett's 'Roderick Random,' in one volume, and 'Peregrine Pickle,' in two. The first has a short memoir of the author with a portrait and a general bibliography, and each story is accompanied by a special bibliography, by J. H. Isaacs. The present reissue is further distinguished by the reproduction of Cruikshank's illustrations, which date from 1831. Here we have, again, good clear print and simple but presentable binding, at a really cheap figure. On a grade above the foregoing are the "Romances and Narratives by Daniel Defoe," edited by George A. Aitken, and to appear in sixteen volumes. They proceed from the same London firm of Dent & Co. which has scored such remarkable successes in fine bookmaking with Jane Austen, Fielding, etc., and as heretofore they are marketed by Macmillan on this side of the water. Mr. Aitken bids us anticipate (what he is well able to furnish) new and interesting particulars concerning each story or narrative (like the 'Journal of the Plague') as to the circumstances in which it was produced, the sources to which Defoe was indebted, and so forth. 'Robinson Crusoe' naturally leads off, in two delightful volumes bound in green cloth, with illustrations. A third, companion volume consists of the 'Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe' and the 'Vision of the Angelic World.' Mr. Aitken

effectively disposes, in his general introduction, of Mr. Thomas Wright's contention, in his Life of Defoe, which we lately reviewed, that the 'Serious Reflections' are to be taken as literal and truthful autobiography. This edition is heartily to be commended, and needs but to be seen.

The Harpers have brought to a happy conclusion Mrs. Green's illustrated edition of her husband's 'Short History of the English People'—still short, although now spread out in four volumes of fair type. The pictures present the usual medley of map and portrait, medal and autograph, advertisement and label, miniature and tapestry, costume and industry, landscape and architecture, which are not close illustrations, following upon the heels of the text, and carefully inserted in their proper place, but a sort of obligato for the period. There is almost nothing trivial or forced in this generous selection. The chronological annals at the end, and the royal genealogical tables, are welcome adjuncts. The whole forms a gift book of a very high order, sure to be read, and equally in place on the shelf or on the centre-table.

Under the title, "Economic Classics," Macmillan & Co. are publishing a series of thin volumes, each containing what is thought to be most valuable in the works of some one of the great economic writers; the selection being made by Prof. W. J. Ashley of Harvard. There have appeared so far three of this series, viz., Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Malthus, and there are promised Mun, Child, Turgot, Quesnay, Roscher, and others. The volume upon Adam Smith consists of selections from the 'Wealth of Nations,' which amount in bulk, we should say, to about one-third of the complete work. We miss some favorite passages, and think every one would be the better nowadays for reading the whole of this great book; but no doubt an edition like the present will reach many who would not attempt a larger volume, and the omissions appear to be judiciously made. Of Ricardo only the first six chapters are given—sufficient to show his method and the more important of his conclusions. In the case of Malthus a somewhat different course is pursued, parallel chapters being taken from his first and second editions, somewhat in the line pursued by Mr. Bonar. Both Ricardo and Malthus we believe to be practically unread nowadays, even by those who discourse most glibly on their theories, and such as are conscious of delinquency here-in may easily correct their error through the aid of this series.

Six addresses delivered at the annual meetings of University Extension students in London from 1886 to 1893 have been gathered into a small volume called 'Aspects of Modern Study' (Macmillan). The speakers were men of note: Lord Playfair, Canon Browne, Mr. Goschen, Mr. John Morley, Sir James Paget, Prof. Max Müller, the Duke of Argyll, the Bishop of Durham, and Prof. Jebb. It is not surprising that the Mansion House hall, as the secretary of the society informs us in his preface, was crowded to hear them. Yet most of the lectures, though interesting enough, contain little that makes them of permanent value. Their main import lies in their implicit or outspoken recognition of the principles and practices of university extension. Canon Browne, whose subject is "The Future of University Extension in London," even suggests the possibility of a system by which such study may get into some kind of connection with a university degree. His paper is, from an educational point of view, the most pertinent of the

series, and is well worth reading—once—whatever may be thought of his views on metropolitan "teaching universities." Lord Playfair's discourse may be skipped without loss. It roams at will, and with much self-confidence, over various fields—some of them fields with which the lecturer has but slight acquaintance.

Mr. Joseph Jacobs, already favorably known by his 'Jews of Angevin England,' has made another important contribution to the history of the race in his 'Inquiry into the Sources of the History of the Jews in Spain' (Macmillan). It embodies the result of a mission to the peninsula to investigate the MSS. and documents relating to the Spanish Jews, and bears emphatic evidence to the indefatigable zeal of the writer, for he tells us that he spent but twenty-eight working days in examining the voluminous archives at Barcelona, Madrid, Alcalá, Simancas, and Pamplona. He has given us abstracts of a large number of documents relating to his subject, with transcripts of some of them in his appendix, and has added an elaborate list of Spanish Jewish writers and an extended Spanish Jewish bibliography, all of which must prove of much utility to students. The career of the Jews in Spain is of surpassing interest, and, from their being the cause as well as the victims of the Inquisition, they exercised a preponderating influence on the strange vicissitudes of the Spanish kingdoms. A volume, therefore, which, like the present, affords substantial aid to the elucidation of the complex problems involved is to be warmly welcomed. More careful proof-reading, however, would have relieved it of its too numerous errors of the press. In the matter of dates alone we may point out that "the fatal year 1380" (p. xxviii) should of course be 1390. The date of 1221 (p. 70) ascribed to a bull of Gregory IX, is impossible, and on the same page Innocent VI should be Innocent IV, if the date of 1250 is accurate, while on p. 149 the expulsion edict of Ferdinand and Isabella is credited to 1492 in place of 1493.

Mr. H. Stuart Jones's 'Select Passages from Ancient Writers Illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture' (Macmillan & Co.) is adequately described by its title. The introduction informs us that it was prepared, at the request of Prof. Percy Gardner, for the use of students in the classical school at Oxford; and, this being the case, we wonder that the editor should have thought it necessary to translate all the passages selected. The fact that he has done so, however, will make the book useful to others, not classical students, who are interested in the history of Greek art. Text and translation are arranged in parallel columns, and many convenient notes and commentaries are interspersed by the editor. The book by no means takes the place of Overbeck's 'Schriftquellen,' and is not intended to, the number of passages relating to almost every sculptor being considerably less than those given by Overbeck, while Löwy's invaluable 'Inschriften' is only referred to occasionally in the notes. As a consequence the book will be of service only to beginners, and while the passages selected are invariably the most interesting, they are far from exhausting the knowledge to be gathered from ancient writers on the subjects to which they relate. There are a few quotations not given by Overbeck, among which we notice a passage from Niketas Choniates describing the destruction, in Constantinople, of a colossal bronze Athena, which is identified with the Promachos of Athens, and extracts from inscriptions found at Epidauros relating to Timotheos and Thra-



symedes, sculptors who were employed in the decoration of the temple of Asklepios.

Revived interest in municipal government is cause and theme of 'Municipal Reform Movements in the United States,' by W. H. Tolman (F. H. Revell Co.), of which the chief value lies in the useful list of reform organizations in various American cities, with officers, objects, and methods duly set forth, together with a record of clubs and associations, male and female, for civic betterment. With this volume may conveniently be coupled 'The Universities and the Social Problem' (London: Rivington, Percival & Co.), in which, by a dozen hands, the actual methods of the University settlements in East London are described. Both books will find a place on the shelf labelled Practical Reform.

A treatise upon the income tax law of 1894, prepared by Roger Foster and E. V. Abbot of the New York bar, is published by the Boston Book Co. Important as this act is, it would scarcely seem possible to make a book of nearly 550 pages upon it before it has received any judicial construction, although, if it be upheld, many volumes will be needed to contain the accounts of the litigation which it will cause. But by reprinting the old acts, the instructions to collectors, the copies of various forms now or formerly used, and by constant repetition, the authors have contrived to swell the work to its present compass. While we incline to think that a digest of the old internal-revenue reports might have been more valuable, we can testify, after a careful reading, that nearly every point upon which it is now possible to throw light has been here considered. The book is so prepared as to be available for non-professional readers, and is of service to lawyers especially on account of its annotations upon the statute, section by section. It must be said, however, that many of the citations are wholly irrelevant, and must have been introduced through hasty and careless preparation or as mere padding.

It was but a few months ago (so belated were we) that we gave a pretty full account of the scheme of Kürschner's 'Deutscher Literatur-Kalender,' apropos of last year's issue. That for 1895 is now before us (Stuttgart: Götschen; New York: Westermann), and if we remark on its greater fulness and on the fact that the frontispiece is a portrait of Louise Reuter, there remains no further occasion to speak of this well-established personal directory and guide to German literary activity in all forms, at home and abroad.

Any one in search of grim stories should turn to Vladimir Korolenko's 'La Forêt murmure,' translated into French by R. Candiani (Paris: Colin & Cie.). There are two or three strong sketches in the book, grisly enough in subject and treatment, and very full of local color of Ukraine and Siberia. The longer story, 'The Blind Musician,' has passages of marked beauty, but lacks unity and vigor, becoming very monotonous, while 'Makar's Dream' is positively childish. But the first two pieces suffice to make the volume attractive.

From the land of Maeterlinck comes 'Le Sire de Rybeke,' by Marguerite van de Wiele (Paris: Librairie de l'Art). The Flemish legend, admirably told but for certain flaws of repetition and iteration, is sad and gloomy, but sadness, gloom, and suggestion of horror are what Maeterlinckites revel in. It is a mediæval tale of a girlish youth and a hard proud mother, and there is a suave poesy about it that lessens the feeling of pain the story evokes. Quaintly written, quaintly illustrated, it is more than attractive, it is fascinating.

It would be a curious inquiry how many professed students and critics of art could give any account of the latest of the 'Artistes Célèbres' to be included in the series of that name published by the Librairie de l'Art. Hubert Robert was a "painter of ruins" who flourished at the end of the eighteenth century, and is interesting only as one of the symptoms of the revived interest in classical antiquity which marked his epoch. He suffered under Louis David and was imprisoned at the instance, as M. Gabillot supposes, of that somewhat truculent personage, but survived the Terror, and was one of the founders of the Louvre. Around him and "his times" is constructed one of the thickest volumes in the series. The "times" are more interesting than the man, and the volume is readable.

The eighth number of *La Quinzaine* does not differ essentially from the first. Nowhere in it is any improvement shown. Like most other religious periodicals, it appears to seek first of all to be *bien pensant* after its own fashion of orthodoxy, and only afterwards to be intelligent and critical and judicial and judicious. Nevertheless, there are in the present number some articles that may be read with interest and profit. 'Les Normaliens dans l'Eglise' treats of the epoch of 1835-1840, throwing a little side-light on that most interesting period of French ecclesiastical history, the Revival which began in 1830 under Lamennais and Lacordaire, and which has moved France less obviously, it may be, but perhaps as widely and deeply as the contemporary Oxford Movement stirred England. '1848-Souvenirs d'un Témoin' is the story of the Revolution of that year, set down from day to day as it appeared to the eyes of an intelligent young woman of strong royalist sympathies. It has something of the freshness of a diary. The sentiments expressed in M. Maurice Boucher's 'Prière à Saint Maurice' are unexceptionable. His piety, which closed its petals at Chicago, expands into full bloom in Paris. In the department of 'Livres et Idées' much sympathy is expressed with regard to M. Brunetière's recent attempt to petition science into insolvency.

In *Melusine* for January February, 1895, M. Gaidoz returns to the subject of the four estates (all resting on the husbandman) which has formed the subject of popular engravings for some three centuries. He gives facsimiles of one older than any he has yet pictured, and of a British specimen, 'The Five Ails'—with the parson at one end and the devil at the other—by the Scotch caricaturist John Kay (1792-1826).

The February *Portfolio* (Macmillan) is, we believe, the first number of that publication devoted to the work of a living artist. 'The Art of William Quiller Orchardson' is treated of by Walter Armstrong, with some forcing of the note, but, on the whole, not unjustly. We should hesitate to take Mr. Orchardson's powers of draughtsmanship quite as seriously as does his English critic, but draughtsmanship of a serious kind is sufficiently rare in England to make Mr. Orchardson's seem almost masterly. His talent as a colorist is indubitable and his work possesses great charm. It is, perhaps, at times a trifle too "literary," but nothing could be much more delightful as a pictorial *trouvaille* than the scattered cards in 'Hard Hit,' and many another passage in his works.

Mr. Wm. M. Stevenson, librarian of the Carnegie Free Library at Allegheny, Pa., has followed the example of the Los Angeles Public Library in adding to his author-and-title list of fiction a subject-index, duly arranged un-

der countries, epochs, etc. He has done better than his predecessor in making use of Mr. Griswold's 'Descriptive Lists of Novels,' and has wisely included some "books which, if not novels, read like novels." A little bibliography is prefixed to this section, with a brief list of biographies of writers of fiction, another of works of criticism and description in fiction, and a third of noteworthy articles in periodical literature bearing on the main theme.

We have received from the statistical bureau of the Italian Department of Agriculture part i. of Library Statistics in two volumes. It embraces particulars concerning not only State, provincial, and communal libraries, but also certain private libraries accessible to students, and notable for size or precious contents. The second part will embrace the libraries of academies, scientific institutions, and associations, circulating libraries, the lower school libraries, etc., etc. It is quite impossible in our limits to do justice to the thoroughness of this admirable undertaking. So far as is possible, each library is described with reference to its origin and history, accommodations, provision against fire, insurance, special features (with examples, as in the case of incunabula, MSS., Dante collections, Dürer engravings, etc., etc.), pecuniary resources, loaning or non-loaning of books, and the rest. Such a mine of information has an immediate value for all students, and will afford, as time goes on, a basis for comparisons of growth that will prove most instructive to those who are concerned with the moral and intellectual development of the Italian people. It reflects the greatest credit upon the Government of today.

—Articles upon two popular superstitions appear in the February number of the *American Meteorological Journal*. One has reference to the notion that change in the lunar phase influences the weather—that is, that more rain falls at new than at full moon. The records at New Haven seemed to confirm this idea, nearly one-half more precipitation occurring at the former than at the latter time; but the records of one hundred years in London yielded a negative result, as also a study of the rainfall for the whole country. In Boston, however, the new moon appeared to exercise a rather remarkable influence on the maximum rainfall. While many more observations will be needed to prove anything one way or the other, still, hardly less than fifty years' observations can materially alter what is at least a striking coincidence at Boston. So our friends who always look for "a change of weather with a change of moon" have a little more basis for their unscientific expectations than they are apt to be credited with. The second article of a purely popular nature has reference to the idea that storms always accompany the sun's "crossing the line." The equinoxes being only the intersection of two imaginary lines, it is hard to conceive of this producing any possible effect, yet no fallacy is more widespread. A careful study of records here produces entirely negative results, and the pet "line storms" of the masses must vanish in thin air.

—In the March number a valuable article is contributed by Mr. A. E. Douglass upon the study of atmospheric currents by the aid of large telescopes, and the effect of such currents on the quality of the "seeing." The writer's observations began at the Harvard College Observatory at Arequipa in Peru, during the summer of 1892. There the observatory is near a river valley down which on clear nights

a swift stream of cold air descends. In observations on Mars it was found that as soon as this stream reached the objective the seeing was at once ruined. More recently the writer witnessed some experiments at the Clark work-rooms with the great Yerkes glass, still in process of completion. It was found to be exquisitely delicate in detecting small differences of temperature. A lighted lamp—even a lighted match—produced great atmospheric commotion, while the bare hand held up, or a person standing four feet from the optical axis, resulted in noticeable warming and consequent unsteadiness of air. During the autumn and winter of 1894 Mr. Douglass made experiments upon the swiftness of air-currents at Mr. Lowell's observatory at Flagstaff, Arizona. Careful tests have revealed three types of wave-systems, with sometimes perplexing combinations. The size of these atmospheric waves does not vary with different apertures in the telescope, nor do they differ except in being more difficult to study with a small glass. It was shown that sometimes, by diminishing the aperture, detail on the disk of the observed planet may be improved, while the edge or limb becomes less steady; which is one reason, similar to the effect of increased coarseness of the air-waves, why very good seeing may often be found between clouds. Out of eight actual observations, the highest current came from the southwest and west-northwest five times. Below a certain level the wind on two days became gusty and intermittent. The actual velocities of the first form of air-currents vary between five and twenty miles an hour. The altitude of the observatory at Flagstaff is 7,250 feet above sea-level, an excellent position from which to study these as yet little understood movements and periods of the atmosphere. Mr. Douglass speaks at some length of the instruments to be used in such studies, and his paper is one of much significance in the location of future observatories, no less than regarding the study of the best conditions for astronomical work at those already founded.

—The fifth volume of 'Memorial Biographies of the New England Historic Genealogical Society' (Boston) comprises forty-nine sketches, of divers lengths and importance, which leaves but a single deceased member of the Society uncommemorated up to June, 1864. The slowness of publication under the Towne Fund is illustrated by the fact that Thomas Hill, the biographer of Convers Francis, is himself dead. The notice of Stillman B. Pratt was prepared eleven years ago. A few foreign members are on the list, the most noted being Lord Lyndhurst; among the natives, most eminent are G. W. Bethune, G. L. Duykinek, William Darlington, Chief Justice Hornblower, Luther Bradish, W. D. Ticknor, and Edward Robinson, the great Biblical scholar. More than one who fell in the civil war are companions of the foregoing, so that the range covers several generations. The notices are unconventional, and are such as would be very useful to the editor, say, of an American 'Dictionary of National Biography.' The practice is general of recording the wives and posterity of the subjects treated, and this is to be commended in view of the contrary practice in almost all biographical dictionaries, even in the case of distinguished characters. Incidentally a good deal of curious information is to be had from this volume, as, the particulars concerning Dr. Geo. B. Cheever's imprisonment for libel in connection with his temperance "Dream" of Deacon Giles's Distillery (under

Daniel Henshaw); the fact that Ticknor took over the *Atlantic Monthly* from Phillips & Sampson against the protest of his partner, Fields, who afterwards became its editor; and the statement that, "as a result of Mr. Pratt's editorial connections, all of his sons became journalists, as did some of the daughters, several grandchildren, and other collateral members of the family," so that credibly "more country newspapers are now (1844) in the hands of his kindred than are controlled by any other family in the world; Stillman B. Pratt, his oldest son, being the proprietor of twenty-five local papers." The historic date of October, 1835, mentioned on page 251, should be 21, not "5."

—In a somewhat unattractive form, Harper & Brothers publish 'The Literature of the Georgian Era,' by the late William Minto, edited by his friend Prof. Knight, who has furnished a long and not particularly satisfactory biographical introduction. The volume consists of two essays on Pope which had been previously printed in *Macmillan's Magazine*, a carefully prepared lecture on Burns, and a series of some twenty popular lectures on the century of English literature that runs from Pope to Shelley. The audience that heard the latter is to be congratulated. They are entertaining without attempting to be funny, and scholarly without attempting to be learned. They lack, moreover, the tone of self-abasement that sounds in much of our university extension and kindred work, in which a lecturer often seems almost ashamed to implant in his hearers' minds anything but the mere rudiments of his doctrine. Prof. Minto held his audience up to its work; he gave it matter for strict attention and solid thought, but it was matter clearly arranged and neatly expressed. Where the hearer profited, the reader will not fail to profit also. Other scholars have attempted more in this field, but none has covered it in a way so interesting or so suggestive for the public that cares to read thoughtfully and not merely to be amused.

—A volume of succulent critical essays, on historical, philosophical, and literary subjects, bears the name of Timothée Colani (Paris, Chailley). This author is probably unknown to most American readers, yet he was one of the leading Protestant thinkers and writers in France. A man of scientific tastes and disposition, forced into the Protestant ministry by his father, himself a well-known *pasteur*, Colani became one of the most brilliant preachers in his communion, and founded, with Scherer, the *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chrétienne*. His scientific methods, applied to the exegesis of the Scriptures, his determination to find the truth and to abide by it when found, caused him, in his latter years, to leave the church in which he had been brought up. Shortly afterwards he joined the staff of the *République Française*, and he continued to write for that journal to the day of his death. A vigorous thinker, a firm, unhesitating judge, a man unblinded by conventionalities, Colani exhibits very remarkable critical powers and a profound insight into the very marrow of the subjects he discusses. The present volume of essays is an excellent collection, and displays the talent of Colani in different aspects. Trenchant articles on Taine, whose *parti pris* Colani cannot endure, on Renan, who owes Colani so great a debt, and whose fluid, elusive character is admirably appreciated; on Zola, the hollowness of whose pretensions is exposed in masterly fashion, and two

most interesting studies of "Hamlet," form the best part of the book, in which, however, all is good—the historical as well as the literary, the political as well as the philosophical part. The brief preface of M. Joseph Reinach must not be missed either.

—On January 18, Moriz Carriere, Professor of Esthetics in the University of Munich, died of apoplexy, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. Only the day before his death he had delivered his lecture in the regular course on Goethe's "Faust," and closed with the promise to give on the morrow an interpretation of the Walpurgisnacht. One of his last contributions to the literature of the day was an open letter on "Gedankenfreiheit," addressed to the editor and printed in the February number of the *Deutsche Revue*. It is a manly and timely protest against the growing tendency of the German Government to repress freedom of thought and to restrict the liberty of the press—a tendency that has greatly increased in strength and aggressiveness since the accession of William II., and culminated in the project of a law known as the "Umsturzvorlage" (subversion-bill) lately under discussion by the Imperial Diet. The object of the proposed law is to protect the institutions of religion, marriage, property, and monarchy in their present form against all adverse criticism, and its enactment would make the publication of many passages in the writings of Luther, Melancthon, Klopstock, Goethe, and Schiller a criminal offence. When the "Holy Coat of Trier" was "elevated" in 1844, the head of the German Catholics, Johannes Ronge, addressed an epistle to Bishop Arnoldi, in which he denounced the exhibition and adoration of the old garment as gross and disgraceful fetishism. This public expression of his opinion caused intense excitement, but it never occurred to the Prussian or any other German Government to intervene. When the same "holy coat" was again exposed in 1891, a young Protestant theologian, who censured this "idolatrous worship" in much milder terms than Ronge had used, was tried and condemned for attacking "an institution of the Catholic Church." In this case the German tribunal was animated by the same spirit that led the Russian censor Korasovsky to erase from a book on natural history the chapter treating of the noxiousness of fungi, on the ground that "fungi form the favorite food of devout Christians on fast-days, and whoever declares them to be noxious seeks to undermine the Christian faith and to diffuse irreligion."

—If the German fashion prevailed with us, telegrams of congratulation would, on this seventieth birthday of Dr. Fitzedward Hall, be pouring in to Marlesford, England, where this American scholar has his home. His name is not unknown to our readers, who have for years enjoyed his expositions of English verbal usage such as no other man living could produce. But he has experienced the usual fate of an absentee in being overlooked by his countrymen, and in being accordingly without his proper honor here. That he is even a Harvard graduate—a member of the class of 1846 and classmate of Professors Child, Lane, and Norton—is little suspected by the great majority of the alumni of that institution, to which he has given many valuable Oriental books, and recently some five hundred Oriental MSS., many of the greatest rarity. Those, again, who read Dr. Murray's recurring acknowledgments of Dr. Hall's invaluable and



incomparable services in supplementing the readers for and the proof-readers of the New English Dictionary—acknowledgments which, to be adequate, would seem exaggerated—do not think of Dr. Hall as an Orientalist who spent sixteen years in India. His career there, whose beginning was made memorable by a shipwreck in the treacherous river Hooghly, was the honorable one of public usefulness as superintendent of schools, and as professor of Sanskrit at the sacred city of Benares, the very centre of Hindu learning. In India he familiarized himself with divers Eastern languages, was the first American to publish a Sanskrit text, and has, in the *Journal of The Asiatic Society* (*i. e.*, of Bengal) and in Indian magazines and printed volumes, been a most prolific writer and editor on Oriental subjects, as the British Museum catalogue will testify. Of his achievements in the various fields of Hindu antiquity, we may mention his books and essays on the philosophical systems, especially the Sankhya, on dramaturgy, astronomy, and epigraphy; although published for the most part three or four decades ago, they are still of great and almost undiminished value and authority. His wonderful *Belesenheit*—which competent authorities pronounce to be as admirable in Sanskrit as we know that it is in English—was brought to bear not only upon the annotation of texts, but also upon some of the intricate problems of Hindu literary chronology, with extraordinary acuteness and success. Since 1862 he has been constantly employed by the British civil-service commissioners as examiner in Sanskrit, Hindustani, Hindi, Bengali, or English. All this time has been going on the note making on points of English which, as he lately wrote to the *Chicago Dial*, he began in 1838, or when he was but thirteen years of age, and which has borne fruit not only in the present help to Dr. Murray's international enterprise, but in classical works like his 'Recent Exemplifications of False Philology' (1872), 'Modern English' (1873), 'On English Adjectives in -able' (1877), and others more controversial. An intense American, it has been Dr. Hall's lot to dwell among Englishmen for more than three-fifths of his life. His profound learning won for him, as long ago as 1860, the highest recognition from the University of Oxford—the degree of J.C.D.—just as also his modest and unflinching kindness and public spirit have won him a recognition (perhaps even dearer to him) in the little hamlet in Suffolk that has so long been his home; but it ought not to happen that his seventieth birthday should pass without a word of cordial and admiring remembrance from his native land.

#### TOWER'S LAFAYETTE.

*The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution.* With some account of the attitude of France toward the War of Independence. By Charlemagne Tower, jr., LL.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1895. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. x, 494, 537.

THE above work on Lafayette's services to America, and incidentally on the French participation in the Revolution, is fair-minded yet sympathetic. Of neither France nor America is Mr. Tower a partisan. Indeed, on the moot points he becomes defender or apologist for each in turn, and one comes quickly to trust his impartiality. So strongly marked is this quality that it is singularly difficult to take issue with any of his positions and opinions;

yet on two points it is perhaps worth while to look a little closer before accepting his conclusions entire.

Mr. Tower believes, with Lafayette, that the *lettre de cachet* sent after his hero was seriously intended on the part of France, thus taking issue with Kapp, who saw in the step only a nominal act of the Government, done for appearance's sake and to silence the complaints of the English Minister, with no intention that it should be obeyed. Nor can a re-study of the question, we think, alter this conclusion. Genuine *lettres de cachet* were not sent after fugitives, and the fugitive then left free to act as he pleased. Moreover, this particular one was issued at the request (nominally) of the Duc d'Ayen, the father-in-law of Lafayette, who, while thus seemingly objecting to the service of his daughter's husband in America, was actually endeavoring at that very time to secure from the Commissioners at Paris a commission for himself. Even more conclusive still is the information contained in the despatch of the secret agent of the English Ministry in Paris to Lord Suffolk, in which, after stating that Lafayette had sailed for America, he continued: "Thisspirited exertion is pretendedly disapproved by the Court, but all the Ladies applaud it, particularly the Queen, which excites many of the highest rank of young nobility to follow the example."

The second point on which we are tempted to take issue with Mr. Tower relates to the campaign in Rhode Island. In writing of the Newport fiasco, the author had, to be fair, a task of real difficulty. There can be no question that both French and Americans tried to outwit each other in order to obtain all the glory of the expected success, and even Lafayette could write: "I feel that the Frenchmen will somewhat eclipse their [American] neighbors, and that the best dramatic effects will probably fall to their share. . . . I should be greatly disappointed if they were not allowed the advantage I think is rightfully theirs." But when this mutual jealousy had produced its logical results, he did, too late, what he could to heal the breach. Few Americans have written so favorably to the French in this matter as Mr. Tower, and we are pleased to read his account, even while we think it biased. The fact that Luzerne thought it necessary to take the American commander of the expedition against Rhode Island, Sullivan, into his pay, to close his mouth, is so striking that it can hardly be read amiss.

One of the most interesting portions of the whole book is that devoted to the attempt of the Conway Cabal to separate Lafayette from Washington—an attempt which of itself shows how great a power the young officer had come to be. The conspirators offered Lafayette, against the judgment of Washington, who disapproved of the whole scheme, the command of an army to invade Canada, and, to render it doubly attractive to Lafayette while humiliating to Washington, they made it a distinct command, subject to no orders but those of the Congress—a blow at Washington which, had it succeeded, would almost certainly have been followed by the detaching of other commands, till the commander-in-chief would have had but a mere title, and could easily have been brushed aside by the Cabal. Fortunately, Lafayette was above even such tempting bait, and, if for nothing else, his loyalty under such temptation should make him dear to every American. He replied to Congress that he would accept the command only on condition that he should remain a subordinate of Washington and report to him.

And when these terms were accepted, not content with this, he forced the Board of War to allow him to name his subordinates, thus neutralizing their endeavor to associate with him only the partisans of the Cabal. The action on this matter has unfortunately escaped Mr. Tower, and as it is essential it deserves quotation here (Report of a Board of War, January 31, 1778):

"That General Washington be informed that, in compliance with the request of the Marquis de la Fayette, Congress are willing that General McDougal should proceed on the intended Incursion into Canada if his State of Health will admit of it, but if not, that the Baron de Kalb be directed to follow the Marquis on the said expedition, in case General Washington can dispense with his presence."

Even in this apparent yielding to his wish, however, Lafayette detected the sting of the Cabal. The report, so apparently favorable to him, cast a slur on Washington by the inference of the last line that the General was so incompetent that he could not "dispense" with the "presence" of Kalb; and to Lafayette, who was present when this report was adopted, was undoubtedly due the striking out of the slurring line, and the substitution of the words, "in case General Washington shall judge it proper."

Another and even greater service of Lafayette at this time is also overlooked by Mr. Tower. One of the meanest and trickiest devices of the Cabal to destroy Washington was to compel him to attack Howe's army in Philadelphia—a project so desperate as to seem mad had the Board of War hoped for a moment that success was possible. The scheme, however, was merely one to destroy Washington by compelling him to fight Howe on Howe's own terms; defeat being a hopeful way of removing Washington from the command. In the Congress, in the Board of War, and even in camp, the scheme had its adherents, and the committee sent to camp was largely ordered with this in mind. At this critical moment Washington asked each of the general officers for a written opinion as to the possibility of the manoeuvre, and none rallied more quickly to his aid or gave a more decisive negative than Lafayette, who, though new to the whole scene of war, and easily open to deception, yet drew up an admirably clear and lengthy opinion, which, united with that of a majority (for there was a minority even among the generals), reinforced Washington's own conclusions and saved him from a most hopeless undertaking. The omission of this paper is a serious defect in the present work, though none of the "opinions" drawn up for Washington by Lafayette are included.

The narrative of the movements leading up to and including the battle of Monmouth is almost a model of military history—clear, concise, yet detailed. Scarcely less so is the section devoted to Lafayette's Virginian campaign. The absolute impotence of the civil Government of that State, the revolt in the back counties, the refusal of the militia to embody in many places, their constant desertion in the field, and the strong dislike of the Northern soldiers for Southern service, together with the superior strength of the enemy, all combined to make the task of the young general of twenty-six truly Herculean, and to cause him to write: "I am just that much of a general as will make me an historian of misfortunes, and nail my name upon the ruins of what good folks are pleased to call the Army of Virginia." But the "good sense" that Washington had so quickly detected under the impetuous and rash longing for action



came to Lafayette's service. Conscious of his own tendency, he wrote: "To speak truth I was afraid of myself as much as of the enemy. Independence has made me more cautious, as I know my own warmth." In place of constantly urging action and attack, under the sobering influence of responsibility he adopted the Fabian policy of his chief, and thus not merely saved Virginia, but led the way to the triumph at Yorktown.

The services of Lafayette to the American cause were not limited, however, to operations in the field. Quite as essential and important were his negotiations on behalf of America with the French Cabinet. To preface these properly, Mr. Tower has chronicled at length the hesitating and vacillating conduct of the French Ministry in the period between the moment when the rising storm in the colonies first attracted the attention of France and the signing of the treaty of alliance. The aid, both secret and open, which France gave to America never professed to be based on any other than selfish grounds. Gérard, speaking for Vergennes, put the best face upon it when he said to the Commissioners that they did not "pretend" that they acted "wholly" for the sake of America, "since . . . it was manifestly the interest of France that the power of England should be diminished by . . . separation." And how little real interest or affection the French Minister had for the States is well shown in two of his despatches to his American agent, in which he outlines the French policy as follows:

"I think as you do, that the preservation of the Congress would suit us, but what perhaps suits us better is that the U. S. should not acquire the political consistence of which they are susceptible." (To French Charge, July 21, 1783.)

"It suits France that the U. S. should remain in their present state, because if they should acquire the political consistence of which they are susceptible, they would soon acquire a force or a power which they would be very ready to abuse." (To Moustier, September 27, 1787.)

Whatever the selfish views of the Cabinet, the French people were more generous, while Lafayette was so extreme as to make Maurepas say that some day the young officer would strip Versailles for "his American cause." Mr. Tower narrates at length his constant appeals to France for aid for the Americans. The man, indeed, as here shown, seems tireless in his persistence and in the multiplicity of his schemes. Canada, Florida, the British West Indies, and each British force in the colonies, are one by one conquered by him—on paper—and to the older and cooler men with whom he was dealing the length of the campaigns, in which ink only was shed, must have been not a little fatiguing. But his exertions led to important results, for Mr. Tower makes plain how large an element Lafayette's personal popularity at Court and his arguments to the Ministry played, in producing the various French expeditions of 1780-81 which led to the capture of Cornwallis. However mistaken the policy of France was, in pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for America, or however blindly selfish her motives in so doing, Lafayette was actuated by nothing but unselfish love for this country. Everything he could do for it, he did. He clothed his brigade at his own expense. He pledged his credit to move troops southward when that of the Government was insufficient. He took his loss cheerfully when he was swindled out of the cargo he had brought with him to America, on which he had hoped to make a profit of "three or four hundred per cent.," and instead, to reach Philadelphia, was compelled to

borrow money "at a high rate of interest." He was silent when the Jew money-lenders of Philadelphia took such advantage of his situation as to make Beaumarchais write laughingly that Lafayette had found "Jerusalem in America." Blood, time, and money he gave without stint and without thought. "I love them all," he wrote; "I hope to deserve their esteem, and so we are mutually satisfied." Small wonder that he was able to say, "M. de Lafayette was no longer a stranger" to the Americans. "There never was an adoption so complete."

Of this brilliant and generous story, Mr. Tower has written a most inclusive, careful, and satisfactory account. First, practically, among American writers, he has made a full use, so far as served his purpose, of two recent and most important historical works: M. Doniol's 'La Participation de la France,' and B. F. Stevens' 'Facsimiles of Manuscripts.' With a thoroughness that is admirable, he has gathered a large mass of hitherto unpublished material from the Washington papers and the records of the Continental Congress. From the Gates and Steuben papers, hitherto so closely guarded by the New York Historical Society, as well as from the letter books and papers of Rochambeau and Wayne, he has garnered with skill. He has even obtained copies of the long series of letters from Lafayette to the Executive of Virginia, abstracted from the State archives by Benson J. Lossing, immediately after the occupation of Richmond by the Federal troops, and at present the subject of a law suit. He has used, practically *in extenso*, the letters of Lafayette to Estaing, discovered by M. Doniol, too recently for inclusion in his great work, but made public in the *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*. It is not too much to say that he has quadrupled the amount of accessible material concerning the central figure of his book. We can recall no biographical work in American history containing such a wealth of original material concerning the subject treated. To this Mr. Tower has added reproductions of several maps prepared for Lafayette, besides several specially drawn for the present work. A new portrait of Lafayette, painted at the time of his service in America, and one of his wife, are also additions well worth the making. In every respect the book shows skill and thoroughness.

We note with some interest that Mr. Tower adopts the form of "La Fayette," for which he has the authority of Larousse; yet the man himself almost invariably wrote it Lafayette, and this has been followed with hardly an exception in this country, being, we think, the preferable form. On the other hand, the author follows Doniol in spelling the name of Florida Blanca as one word, which we also think to be an error. There are a few mistakes in names, unsupported by any authority, as Col. Rahl for Rahl. Far more serious is the double use of the surnames Broglie and Broglio. The Maison de Broglie was at times styled "de Broglie," but it is essential in any book to adopt a uniform system. In this case, the double use not merely apparently creates two distinct families, but leads to an absolute confusion of the individuality of the two brothers. Thus, the "Comte de Broglie" of page 17 becomes "Count Broglio" on page 25, and "Maréchal de Broglie" on page 25; while the "Marshal Duc de Broglie" on page 22 becomes the "Marshal Broglio" on page 297. The confusion is increased by the index, which enters under Marshal Broglie a reference to the Broglie of the text, and the Broglie of the

text is entered under Broglie in the index. On the whole, however, the book is very free from slips of this kind, and shows most careful proof-reading. Not quite so fortunate was Mr. Tower in his mapmaker, who twice changes the "Byrd's Tavern" of the text into "Bird's," the correct "Brandon House" of one map to "Branden's house" in another, and, while correctly spelling the river "Nansemond" on one map, on a second gives it as "Hansemond" and on a third as "Vansemond."

#### SYBEL'S GERMAN EMPIRE.—II.

*Die Begründung des Deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I. Von Heinrich von Sybel. Sechster Band. Munich: R. Oldenbourg; New York: Westermann. 1894.*

BISMARCK'S attitude on the Luxemburg question—his declaration (January 10, 1867) that Prussia would neither lend active aid in securing the duchy for France nor give official consent in advance to the transfer—was far from satisfactory to Napoleon and his ministers. They determined, however, to act as Bismarck had advised—to start an agitation in Luxemburg and negotiate directly with the King of the Netherlands. At the same time the European Powers were sounded. The responses received from the principal courts were encouraging, although Austria warned France that the project would excite the national feeling of Germany and tend to bring the North and South into greater harmony. The King of the Netherlands, however, declared (March 18) that he could do nothing without the formal consent of the great Powers, including Prussia. In the meantime an interpellation from Thiers on the policy of France towards Italy and Germany had given rise to a protracted debate in the French Legislature (March 14-18), in which the Opposition asserted, and the governmental orators conceded, that the tendency toward German unity was a menace to the power of France. On the 18th the status of Luxemburg became the subject of a brief debate in the North German Diet. Rumors of French designs upon Luxemburg were already current, and appeal was made to the Chancellor to prevent the annexation of German soil by a dangerous neighbor. Bismarck warned the assembly that a discussion of the Luxemburg question might give rise to a European question.

This terminated the episode, but German national feeling had been so strongly aroused that Bismarck determined to publish the treaties of offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and the South German States. This he did with the less hesitation, Von Sybel tells us, because he had already notified Benedetti of the existence and nature of these treaties, and had received the answer that they had long been known to the French diplomats. The effect of their publication was to create, both in Germany and in other countries, a conviction that Prussia proposed to resist any French attempt to acquire German territory. The Dutch King was confirmed in his resolve to take no step in the Luxemburg matter without Prussia's express authorization. A new French appeal to Bismarck elicited an even more emphatic declaration that Prussia could not go beyond a *laissez-faire* policy. On the 25th of March he earnestly cautioned Benedetti to prevent the King of the Netherlands from making any communication on the subject to the Prussian Government; but this warning, says Von Sybel, came too late. On the 26th, the King notified the Prussian ambassador at

The Hague that he had promised to cede Luxembourg to France provided Prussia would consent, and requested the ambassador to transmit this statement to Berlin. By this time the European newspapers were full of the question, and war was regarded as imminent. The King of Prussia, however, avoided giving a direct answer to the message from The Hague: he telegraphed that he could reach no decision without consulting the other European Powers. At the same time another step was taken which, as the Luxembourg historian Servais remarks, ought to have shown the Dutch King that Prussia would not try to prevent the cession. Nearly six months before, the Luxembourg Government had notified the Prussian Government that in its opinion the Prussian right of keeping troops in Luxembourg had ceased with the dissolution of the Confederation, and it had suggested the conclusion of a new treaty providing for the continuance of the Prussian garrison. This offer, to which no answer had as yet been given, was now declined by telegraph (March 27). Rothau, the French historian, who constantly cites the work of Servais, makes no mention of this telegram.

Napoleon regarded the matter as settled. An autograph letter was sent to the King of the Netherlands, accepting the cession and assuming full responsibility as regarded Prussia. The King declared himself satisfied; the treaty was drawn up in duplicate, and it was arranged that it should be signed March 31. On that day, however, it suddenly occurred to the Dutch minister, Van Zuylen, that the signing was not his business, but that of the Luxembourg minister, Tornaco. The latter was summoned to The Hague, and the signing was postponed to the 1st of April—an ominous date! On that day (which was Bismarck's fifty-second birthday) a conversation occurred between Bismarck and Benedetti which is worth quoting:

"On the morning of the 1st of April, Benedetti called upon Bismarck, and after offering his congratulations . . . stated that he had an important communication to make. Bismarck, who could easily conjecture its character, at once interrupted him. 'I have,' he said, 'no time at present to talk business; I am on the point of starting for the Diet, where I am to answer, on Bennigsen's interpellation, the following questions: 'What does the Government know regarding the alleged cession of Luxembourg to France? and is the Government resolved at all hazards to maintain the connection of this German territory with Germany?' If you will go with me,' he added, 'we can talk this matter over on the way.' As they walked towards the Diet, Bismarck explained that it was his intention to answer that the Government was indeed aware that such negotiations were pending at The Hague; that in response to a question from the King of the Netherlands regarding Prussia's view of the matter, reference had been made to the necessity of consulting the great Powers and considering public opinion; that the Government did not know whether the negotiations in The Hague had already been brought to a conclusion, and was therefore not in a position at the moment, to give a direct answer—yes or no—to the second question; that it believed, however, that no foreign Power would encroach upon indubitable rights of German States, and that it hoped to be able to protect such rights by peaceful negotiations. 'You see,' he then remarked to Count Benedetti, 'that in this way every occasion for a rupture is avoided; but you also see that the basis on which my whole explanation rests is the fact that I am not aware that the treaty has been concluded. And it will be equally clear to you that if you were now to reveal to me that the treaty has been concluded, and I were obliged to communicate this fact to the Diet, the inevitable result, with the high degree of excitement which now prevails in the assembly, would be an explosion, the effect of which would be incalculable.' At this point in the conversation the two men reached the door of the Diet.

'Now,' inquired Bismarck, 'with this result and the responsibility for it clearly before you, have you an important despatch to deliver to me?' Benedetti was not a bellicose person. He reflected a moment, said 'No'—and took his leave. Bismarck went into the Diet" (pp. 110, 111).

The interpellation was a preconcerted one. Bismarck's intention, as Von Sybel claims, was to allay the excitement which prevailed in Germany; and he quotes a French despatch to show that this was understood by the French diplomatists. The effect, however, of Bennigsen's inquiry and Bismarck's answer was rather to increase the agitation of the public mind. The tone of Bennigsen's speech was patriotic and almost belligerent. He assumed that the rights of Germany in Luxembourg were indubitable; assured the Government that where resistance to foreign aggression was concerned, there could be no parties in the Diet, and expressed the confidence of the assembly that the interests of Germany would be effectively protected. Bismarck began his answer by reminding the assembly that, with the dissolution of the old German Confederation, Luxembourg had become a sovereign state. He assured them that neither its ruler nor its inhabitants had the slightest desire to enter the new Federation. He let his hearers see, incidentally, that Prussia's right to keep a garrison in Luxembourg had already been questioned. He then answered Bennigsen's questions precisely as he had told Benedetti that he would answer them. In spite of the first part of his speech, his remark about the protection of "indubitable rights" was taken to mean that Germany would at all hazards keep Luxembourg out of Napoleon's hands. The cold and guarded tone of his whole speech was attributed to diplomatic caution—the more easily because, in a sentence which appears in the stenographic report of his remarks, but is not included in Von Sybel's abstract, he remarked that a Deputy could properly use warmer language than became a diplomatist while peaceful negotiations were still possible.

At The Hague, too, the impression created by the debate was that Prussia would not permit the sale of Luxembourg. This impression was confirmed by a Prussian telegram of April 2, saying that the King was free to decide as he saw fit, but was requested to pay some regard to the excited condition of German public feeling. According to Von Sybel, this despatch and a similar message sent the same day to Paris were intended simply to secure a postponement of the cession until the North German Parliament should have completed its labors and adjourned (which happened a fortnight later). In Paris, however, the message created the impression that Bismarck was not playing fairly. This impression was changed to a conviction by a declaration received from the King of the Netherlands, that his promise had been given to Napoleon under the express condition of Prussia's consent, and that he now considered himself released from all obligation.

War now seemed inevitable; but, on reflection, the French Cabinet decided not to force hostilities. It was not demonstrable, after all, that Prussia had prevented the purchase of Luxembourg; the military reorganization of France (the increase of the active army and the distribution of breech-loading rifles) was just beginning; and a proposal to Austria to form an offensive alliance against Prussia elicited the reply that the ruler of 10,000,000 Germans could not take up arms to support a foreign annexation of German territory. Napoleon therefore decided to refer the whole question

to a European congress. The congress met, and the settlement which it sanctioned—the neutralization of Luxembourg, the demolition of the fortress, the withdrawal of the Prussian troops—left France in a position to claim that something had been accomplished by her diplomacy.

We have given a fairly complete abstract of Von Sybel's narrative, partly because his is, on the whole, the most intelligible version of the Luxembourg imbroglio that has yet appeared, and partly to obtain a basis for criticizing his interpretation of Bismarck's action. He maintains that Bismarck was willing to sacrifice Luxembourg for the sake of postponing the war with France. We think it perfectly clear that Bismarck did not intend to do anything to prevent the cession of Luxembourg for which he could be held responsible and which would furnish France with a *casus belli*. But that he really wished France to have Luxembourg is an impossible supposition; and that he was not willing to frustrate the French plans if he could so do it as not to appear to have done it, seems very improbable. According to Von Sybel, the degree of excitement which the question aroused in Germany took Bismarck by surprise; the effect of the publication of the South German treaties and the impression produced by Bennigsen's interpellation were quite other than he had anticipated, as was also the case with his despatches of April 2. To this we can only answer that at no other period in Bismarck's long diplomatic career did he exhibit any such lack of comprehension of popular feeling, or any such incapacity to adapt his means to his ends, as the historian here ascribes to him. It seems to us that Von Sybel is trying to save Bismarck's reputation for straight dealing at the cost of his reputation for intelligence; and we cannot but sympathize with Napoleon's statement to the historian (p. 119): "Bismarck tried to dupe me."

The latter part of the volume describes the efforts to bring about a triple alliance between France, Austria, and Italy, efforts impeded by the insoluble Roman question; the plan of replacing the French garrison in the States of the Church by a Spanish force, a plan defeated by the dethronement of Queen Isabella. More space than is apparently necessary is given to the negotiations between the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen family and the King of Prussia which preceded the acceptance by Prince Charles of the Rumanian crown; but the questions discussed were so similar to those which were raised in 1870 by the candidacy of Charles's older brother, Leopold, for the crown of Spain, and the attitude of King William in the latter case was so completely consistent with that which he maintained in the former case, that Von Sybel has laid an admirable basis for a vindication of the King against the French charge of indirectness and insincerity. The comparison between the two episodes is the more effective because the historian is clever enough not to make it.

#### RECENT BOOKS ABOUT JOHN BROWN.

*John Brown and His Men*, with some account of the roads they travelled to reach Harper's Ferry. By Richard J. Hinton. Funk & Wagnalls. 1894.

*John Brown among the Quakers*, and Other Sketches, by Irving B. Richman, Consul-General of the United States to Switzerland. Des Moines: The Historical Department of Iowa.



*John Brown in Canada: A Monograph.* By James Cleland Hamilton, LL.B., V.P. Canadian Institute. From *Canadian Magazine*, December, 1894.

THE literature of John Brown, like his soul in the ballad, is still marching on. As with his stout defender Henry Thoreau, who published two books during his life and has had a dozen printed about him since his death, so John Brown, who published no book at all, has had his biography written five times—by Redpath, Webb, Von Holst, Sanborn, and now Hinton—has been the subject of eight separate papers in the *Atlantic Monthly* alone, besides an uncounted number in other magazines—and is still open to treatment. He thus fulfils what has been described as the truest type of fame—the elevation into a permanent post-mortem importance of a man whose life was spent for the most part in obscurity.

Mr. Hinton had previously written some reminiscences of Captain Brown in *Frank Leslie's Monthly* for June, 1880, and had moreover had, in editing the volume of 'English Radical Leaders' for Higginson's "European Statesmen" series, some practice in biographical writing. His memoir of John Brown is by far the fullest treatment of the subject yet printed, except that of Mr. Sanborn. It perhaps falls short of this last work in arrangement, but surpasses it in directness and simplicity; shows less profuse details of historical investigation, but more of personal intimacy, at least during the Kansas period. The author went first to Kansas in 1856, as a member of one of the three parties organized at Worcester, Mass., under the auspices of the State Kansas Committee and afterwards of the National Committee, and having no connection with the Emigrants' Aid Society, which had then passed its prime. He was a young English printer and journalist, resident in Boston, ardent, liberty-loving, and thoroughly honest. He knew most of Brown's men, and traces their career more thoroughly, in some respects, than has hitherto been done. Incidentally he makes clear the utter preposterousness of the view taken in Nicolay and Hay's 'Lincoln'—and hitherto confined to that too superficial book—that these men were largely a set of impecunious hangers-on, attracted to Brown by the prospect of support. Nothing was more remarkable in Brown than the Puritan vigor with which he shed from him all men of that class, and impressed his own self-denying type, for good or for evil, on those who followed him. He was, in this respect, the greatest contrast to his contemporary, "Jim" Lane, to whom the humbler Wildrakes and swashbucklers of that unsettled period naturally gravitated.

Perhaps the most eminent service rendered by Mr. Hinton's book is in exploding, even more thoroughly than Mr. Sanborn's, the curious theory urged of late years in some quarters, and embodied in Prof. Spring's volume on Kansas in "American Commonwealths," to the effect that there was a distinct division in that Territory, during its period of struggle, between the advocates of diplomacy and those of armed resistance. Mr. Hinton makes it very clear that this whole theory is an afterthought. In Kansas, as elsewhere, different men were assigned by temperament and accident to different vocations, which they discharged more or less well—Robinson to diplomacy, Brown to fighting; but this implied no real antagonism between them. Mr. Sanborn showed long since, by documentary evidence, that Robinson put the seal of explicit approval for many years on Brown's most extreme and

most censured act, the massacre at Pottawatomie. Now comes Mr. Hinton and shows, moreover, that Robinson told Brown himself, in 1856, that "the Pottawatomie slaying was entirely justifiable, and that more of the same sort should be done" (p. 88); that in 1859, three years after the event, he supported at Lawrence resolutions declaring the act "a sad necessity" (p. 89); and that in 1877, on the unveiling of Brown's monument, Robinson made a speech comparing him to Jesus of Nazareth. Not only this, but Mr. Hinton shows that Mr. Eli Thayer, who has of late years been constant in his denunciation of Brown's career at that period, presented him, the year after the Pottawatomie affair, with a gun made expressly for him in Worcester, the receipted bill of which, made out to Mr. Thayer, was endorsed by him on the back to this effect: "Presented to my friend, Captain John Brown, for use in the cause of freedom. Eli Thayer" (p. 90). We are not now arguing whether the Pottawatomie "necessity" was right or wrong; Mr. Hinton has shown pretty clearly that there was not at the time in Kansas any prominent "free-State" man or class of men who did not approve of it. If one sinned, all sinned, at least by way of sympathy.

The main features of Captain Brown's career were so simple and are now so well understood that Mr. Hinton puts them in no essentially new light, though he throws, from his own memory and the correspondence of others, many side-lights on the man and his times. The other two books are monographs on special periods in Brown's life. An organization known as "The Historical Department of Iowa" publishes several monographs by Mr. Richman, of which the most interesting is a study from original sources of the life of Captain Brown in Springdale and Tabor, Iowa, both well known in those days as settlements founded by anti-slavery Quakers. It was there that Brown obtained, in August, 1857, the rifles deposited there by the Kansas State Committee of Massachusetts, but actually the property of George L. Stearns, its chairman. It was there also that he brought Captain Hugh Forbes, the erratic English Garibaldian drill-master, who first taught Brown tactics and then betrayed him. Some of his subsequent followers at Harper's Ferry joined Brown there; and they went thence, in 1858, to Chatham in Canada, for their well-known "quiet convention," as their leader called it.

Here Mr. Hamilton takes up the tale and gives in his pamphlet the best account yet printed of that assemblage, and this especially from the point of view of the colored members, although the writer himself appears to be white. Chatham was chosen for the meeting as being near the headquarters of the colored race, of whom Hinton says that there were then 75,000 in Canada, although Hamilton thinks this an over-estimate. Many of these interested themselves in the convention, and the portraits of some of them—strong faces all—are given. Pictures also are given of the rough little schoolhouse and engine-hall of Chatham, where, as the author thinks, "the train was laid that fired the mine whence resulted the overthrow of the proud Southern oligarchy."

*The Art of Thomas Hardy.* By Lionel Johnson. Dodd, Mead & Co.

THERE was once a lady who lived in Alabama and who wrote novels with heroines especially dear to girls of a literary turn. These heroines were compact of learning. Asked a question about household affairs, they promptly replied

with a long quotation from the Vedas. An adorer venturing a compliment was turned from his frivolous way by a disquisition on Babylonian cuneiform or a pressing invitation to consider the wanderings of the Aryans. Except those edifying novels, there is nothing in our literature of which Mr. Lionel Johnson's 'Art of Thomas Hardy' reminds us. No comment is made on any manifestation or phase of that art without a corollary mentioning how Tibullus puts it or what appears in an ancient version of Herodian, or the sentiments of Quintilian, Dante, Bossuet, and Mr. Pater on subjects ranging from the use of words to the destiny of the soul.

Perhaps all the pagan and Christian classics have been absorbed by Mr. Johnson and become native to his memory, but unfortunately his use of them is so harum-scarum that he does not make the impression of one crammed to bursting with erudition, rather of one possessing a large library of excerpts and quotations, and resolute to share it with the public, heedless of relevancy to Homer or to Hardy. In his first chapter he quotes Dr. Johnson's "I never desire to converse with a man who has written more than he has read"; and, in view of this performance, it may almost be assumed that Mr. Johnson was inspired to show that the Doctor would have found him worthy even of a temporary suspension of his own eloquence. However, he says that the object of his essays is to show that "Mr. Hardy is often of the humanists and may be of the classics." The extreme caution of this statement binds a man to nothing, especially as the company is declared to be catholic, excluding only the "perverse," by whom, we gather from the context, are meant only clever photographers of a moment, a class to which no one would ever dream of relegating Mr. Hardy. We feel that Mr. Johnson might have permitted himself the excess of trying to show that Mr. Hardy is always of the humanists and must be of the classics. Then there would have been a chance for spirited argument. But who so rash as to argue with a man capable of observing that his author's manner of presentation "has about it something Elizabethan, something Shakespearian, or something of later date, Jacobean, and Caroline," with constant reminder that it has also something Victorian and something *fin de siècle*?

What Mr. Johnson does manage to show in intervals of rest from citation, we think scarcely needed to be shown. The principal points of emphasis are that Mr. Hardy writes by preference about Wessex, which means that portion of England once known as the Kingdom of Wessex, which was the home of the West Saxons; that his favorite motive is the meeting and clashing of the restless, modern spirit with the repose, or rather stolidity, of antiquity; that his design is free and worked out with patience, sincerity, and composure; finally, that he ought not to use the "split infinitive" (Mr. Johnson takes that sin deeply to heart), and ought to have denied himself "all commentary" in telling the tragedy of Tess of the D'Urbervilles. Many minor propositions, hardly, however, less valuable, are advanced in such pomp of diction and splendor of allusion that at least the admirers of our lady novelist from Alabama (if such be still among us) will never perceive how great is Mr. Johnson in making much ado about nothing.

The book is admirably printed on rough, light paper, provided with a careful bibliography, decorated with an etching of Mr. Hardy, and distinguished from other books by

the constant recurrence of "an habit," and the insertion of a *u* in the first syllable of portraiture.

*The Marches of Wales: Notes and Impressions on the Welsh Borders from the Severn Sea to the Sands of Dee.* By Charles G. Harper. With 114 illustrations from drawings by the author and from old-time portraits. London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1894. Pp. xvi, 368.

THIS is an old-fashioned book of travel. The author goes slowly along from village to village, and tells with gusto all manner of little anecdotes of his pleasant and unpleasant experiences. The odd people whom he meets are duly described, and specimens of their dialect given in full. He stops at ruined abbeys and castles, at elegant modern mansions and parish churches, and about each he has his word to say, as concerning their architecture, their associations, even their history. Any famous man or woman whose name is somehow associated with town or tower receives his or her due biographical notice. Every battle or siege whose locality is visited is related, in a true chronicler's fashion, with details. Modern railway and manufacturing works come in for their word of comment; and mingled with it all are the traveller's own views on history, art, politics, and sociology given with great freedom as by one who is sure of the sympathy of his readers.

The record begins with the railway tunnel under the Severn, from Northwick to Portscuett; and we are told how hard it used to be to enter Wales from the southwest, as you had your choice only between the stormy passage across the "Severn Sea" and the long journey round by the north. Chepstow Castle comes next, and we read at length, as we might do as well in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' about Henry Marten, and that he was a "regicide"; that King Charles's putting to death was "murder," and that Marten was let off with "altogether inadequate retribution" for his signing of the death-warrant. At Tintern Abbey we are treated to the queer notions which the eighteenth century had of Gothic architecture, and there is much about the ideally rustic cottage in which the author found a lodging, and about the dog and the two cats attendant upon it. At Raglan Castle we learn of the food and the table-equipage of a wealthy household of the seventeenth century—something also about the Marquis of Worcester, and something of the famous siege of 1646; and we are informed that the Puritans were "those whining humbugs who formed the greater part of the hosts called by some writers of the time the Army of God," and again that the civil war was "a pseudo-religious revolution." At Shrewsbury the whole campaign of Henry IV. against the Percys and their allies is recounted, and the battle fought under the town wall is described at length. It appears, too, that Owen Glendower deserted his allies "like a true Welshman, half-hearted and treacherous." Apropos of the Roman Uriconium, the story of the abandonment of Britain by the legions and its invasion by Danes and Saxons is told as if in a child's history of England. At Franknell, where Charles Darwin was born, the whole Darwinian controversy of 1860 to 1880 is gone through with, as if in a popular encyclopædia. At Hawarden we learn that the castle is "the house of Rimmon," that Mr. Gladstone is much admired by Radicals, and that these Radicals come to see him and his place a good deal; further,

that "it is a singular irony of fate which has made a demagogue of the owner of so beautiful a demesne as Hawarden Park," apparently because "a country gentleman and rural squire" who talks "in anathema of class and glorification of that superlatively virtuous noun, the People," is a surprising and almost inconceivable phenomenon.

The book is not uninteresting, however. It belongs to the class of the amusing and mildly instructive. The reader of Sunday newspapers will find in it a better selection of scraps of knowledge than his weekly sheets can offer, and that held together by a thread of geographical association which will help him to remember some interesting facts. The illustrations, too, though hardly more artistic than those of the Sunday paper, are evidently more trustworthy. In fact, it is because of the illustrations that this book deserves notice from local antiquarians. There are very curious epitaphs and other inscriptions given in representative drawings. A really remarkable sculpture on a tombstone at Mitchell-Troy is shown at page 55—a relief, absurd in meaning, but rather artistical in design. What seem very truthful renderings of Gothic sculpture are presented at pp. 131 and 145. A very unusual form of the heraldic portcullis of the Worcesters occurs on page 65. Urishay Castle appears at page 140 as a most picturesque country house of moderate size. A good mediæval churchyard cross is figured at Trelleck, and another, beside which lies the grave of John Kemble, Catholic martyr of 1679, at Welsh Newton. At page 152 is an impossible sort of structure well portrayed—the belfry of Pembridge Church, a wooden structure of the fourteenth century looking like a windmill without its sails; a delicate morsel for the students of mediæval building. Mr. Harper is at his best when he has an object before him whose characteristics it behooves him to set down with accuracy; then he inspires respect by his obviously faithful recording.

*Philosophy of Mind: An Essay in the Metaphysics of Psychology.* By George Trumbull Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895. Pp. xiv, 414, 8vo.

THERE were but few, we venture to think, who read Prof. Ladd's 'Psychology, Descriptive and Explanatory,' issued last year, that did not feel the presence of an obscure background of opinion which in part, at least, was determining the author's course at every step, but found no adequate expression in his argument; and the like is true of the 'Philosophy of Mind.' Neither book contains its own final premises. Those of the 'Psychology' are now first published in the 'Philosophy of Mind,' and those of the 'Philosophy of Mind' lie hidden, as the author intimates (page 81), in "certain points of view, and even certain conclusions" which he has not yet made accessible to the public. The result may be imagined. The series of which this volume forms an instalment is composed on the plan of a Ciceronian period, and purposes to move in all the pomp of suspended intelligibility till the last word. The "secret of Ladd" retires before one like the boxes in a Chinese puzzle, and every volume hands on its mystery to the next. This is, of course, a matter of exposition, simply; and Prof. Ladd unquestionably has a right to keep his secret through as many volumes as he may choose; but he presents meantime too often the ungraceful attitude of sweeping in the stakes without showing his cards.

With this drawback, or rather in spite of it, the 'Philosophy of Mind' is a full, rich book, with that amplitude of by-remark which fattens the writings of middle aged men. It opens with two chapters on the relation of Psychology to Philosophy. Their general purport is, that in spite of the failure of its professors consistently to treat it so, Psychology is properly a natural science like any other, and proceeds upon assumptions which it is not its own business, but the business of metaphysic as the general science of final assumptions, to criticise. There is much in them to remark, but as they stand in no vital connection with what follows, we pass at once to the rest of the book.

Prof. Ladd is interesting among psychologists of note at the present day in his holding by the soul, and the 'Philosophy of Mind' is in the main devoted to his declarations on that head. The reader will find them very new wine in an old bottle. The soul, according to this new dispensation, is terribly up to date; it differs from the soul of tradition in pretty much everything but the name. It is not an entity over and above consciousness. It is not an unchanging core of reality—a perdurable substratum of the conscious states. It is not simple, it is not indivisible, it is not in its essence immortal (the "possibility" or "perhaps the probability" of immortality is at the utmost but "suggested"), it is not even continuously existent in the past. In every deep dreamless sleep, in every case of fainting or other loss of consciousness, the soul ceases utterly to exist. The self we are conscious of—the "agent" we observe in introspection actively presiding over consciousness—is the only human soul there is. It begins with the appearance of consciousness in the body; it dies, so far as the weight of the evidence goes, with the death of the body; its existence is broken into blocks by every gap in consciousness, and between these blocks there exists no unity but a felt unity—the later block remembers the earlier and looks upon itself as a continuance of it. For the trustworthiness of memory, however, we have but the guarantee of a tender bit of dialectic which will not, we may suspect, outlast the strain of close inspection. It is as follows: We can't doubt the memory, for unless we remember correctly the premises of our argument to disprove it till we reach the conclusion, the conclusion does not follow. But we apprehend that premises and conclusion are never in different moments of consciousness; we don't conclude that Socrates is mortal because we remember that we *formerly* believed that all men are mortal and that Socrates is a man; we conclude it only on the ground that we believe this *now*. If premises and conclusion are not in the same moment of consciousness, there is no conclusion.

One wonders, in these days of Hegelian formulae, how the pews in most of the churches would "sit up" if they ever got a notion what the pulpit is saying. Prof. Ladd's doctrine of self is very good doctrine, and the ten chapters of which it forms the backbone are in many places models of sustained argument and masterly exposition, but one wonders why he calls it *soul*. His statements differ not at all from those of the least hirsute *baldest* (his word) phenomenism; unless it be in the term "agent." But an agent who is not an entity over and above consciousness is an ego that Hume himself might have accommodated. Phenomenism, however, Prof. Ladd regards with unconcealed aversion, sometimes on the ground that it is "shallow," sometimes on the ground that it is "bald," sometimes that it is self-contradictory and absurd. It



would seem a pity, if this last be true, that he should have argued himself into it. Happily his reasons for regarding it in that disparaging light may not prove inexpugnable—so far, at least, as he has yet suggested them. (There may no doubt be better ones in that dark background of assumption to which allusion has been made.) We can examine but one of them before we close, but it may be taken as a sample of the rest. It may be stated as follows: That one knows something, one cannot doubt—one assumes it even in the argument to disprove it. But knowledge of phenomena is not knowledge; knowledge by its very terms imports reality. Therefore, the fundamental doctrine of phenomenism, that we know nothing but phenomena (of consciousness), amounts to this, that we know that we know nothing.

We apologize for the harshness of the terms (it would be a mistake to speak of Prof. Ladd in semi-tones—he does not deal in them himself), but this bit of reasoning reminds one of a celebrated syllogism mentioned by Molière, in which the major was inept, the minor ridiculous, and the conclusion impertinent. For if (as Prof. Ladd grants for the purposes of argument) one can, on the assumption that one knows something, have a proof that one knows nothing, that assumption, like any other which issues in a contradiction, is sufficiently discredited. That a knowledge of phenomena is not knowledge sufficiently discredits itself. And that the conclusion is not pertinent will be plain to anybody who reflects on the bare meaning of the proposition that one knows *nothing* but phenomena. It means above all that the one thing we cannot know about consciousness is, that it is a phenomenon of something else—that consciousness is the only reality.

These, however, are but blemishes in a book which is strong enough to carry even worse ones. We have touched on its central and most interesting topic, but it treats incidentally and often at some length of many things besides. "Theself, . . . not simply as known to itself, but also as scientifically known in its relations to the bodily organism," is the author's own statement of his subject, and under the latter head he discusses monistic materialism, monistic spiritualism (that monism of the "unknown" and "absurd" which regards both matter and mind as common manifestations of a single *tertium quid*), the law of causation, the conservation of energy, etc., etc. The three monisms mentioned herejects for the time being in favor of something very like a plain man's dualism, which he assumes provisionally until the publication of the "certain points of view" and "even certain conclusions"—the undivulged premises of the 'Philosophy of Mind.' They will amount in their entirety, it seems, to an Idealistic Monism, not otherwise defined than that it issues in a personal Absolute, the One Ground of all interrelated existences and activities. The positions of the present book the reader is left to adjust to this as best he may.

*Corea, or Cho-Sen, the Land of the Morning Calm.* By A. Henry Savage-Landor. Macmillan & Co.

MR. LANDOR'S record as a writer of trustworthy narratives of travel does not predispose us to accept without reservation his story of what he tells us about Cho-Sen. Like those of almost all writers upon the peninsular kingdom and people, his observations were confined to the capital and vicinity. He tells us a good deal about Chemulpo, the mushroom

seaport, and of Seoul, which shares with Peking the reputation of being one of the dirtiest cities in the world. Being an artist, he was able to make realistic pictures, which are reproduced in text and full page illustrations. One of these, entitled "A Study from Still Life," is horribly suggestive. It pictures scenes on one of those execution grounds which old residents of Japan, also, remember as being common, but which have so far disappeared from view that Japanese born since 1870 know nothing of them. The book, as a work of literary industry, shows vastly more care than our author's initial work, 'Alone with the Hairy Ainu,' and there is a good index. Evidently the author has profited by the severe criticisms and merciless exposure of his misstatements by those who have lived long among the Ainu. Hence, despite the tone of exaggeration on many pages of his present volume, and notwithstanding that certain episodes are reported as having taken place which we doubt utterly, we can recommend the narrative as in the main lively and interesting.

Mr. Landor, as his preface states, does not write "literary" English, but there are too many unnecessary colloquialisms to suit even the moderately critical reader, while whenever we meet the expressions "If I remember right," "I believe," etc., we are pretty sure to have a doubtful story or statement. The author nowhere refers to any authority for his knowledge of Korean history, and the very liberal way in which he has decanted considerable portions from a well-known work entitled 'Corea, the Hermit Nation,' without once referring to his source of information, cannot accurately be called fair or generous. Still further, remembering an article which he has written quite recently for an English periodical, in which he suggests that a startling romance could be constructed out of materials furnished in the book just named, and also (disguised under philanthropic pretences) in Oppert's 'A Forbidden Land,' we doubt the story of his meeting at Fusan the alleged body-snatcher (pp. 5-15). After reading the factitious conversation, we do not wonder that on Mr. Landor's appearing on deck to interview the "pirate," the latter had already gone, while his own ship was very conveniently on the point of raising anchor bound for Chemulpo. Besides other exaggerations and contempt of accuracy, we find that on page 1 the Pappenburg of Nagasaki Bay becomes Battenberg; the well-known Japanese firm Mitsui-Bishi becomes Mitsui Bashi, etc. We are told that "Corea is an extremely cold country, the thermometer reaching as low sometimes as 70 or even 80 degrees of frost." As for the author's tiger, he is omnipresent, and really Mr. Landor's ideas about him are very much like those of a child that has been frightened by its nurse. One has but to compare his thoroughly untrustworthy talk about tigers (not one of which he saw alive) with the very honest book of Capt. Cavendish, who, in his 'Corea and the Sacred White Mountain,' tells of his journeys through tiger land, showing that, besides the comparative rarity of the beasts, no European has yet had a shot at one of them. Mr. Landor seems to be more at home when he is describing the mythical zoölogy of the peninsula, in which, as in other subjects, his indebtedness to his authorities is not at all expressed.

Apart from these criticisms, the work is a narrative that has in it the element of personal adventure, and the pictures of the outdoor life of the white-robed natives are full of warmth and color. The conversations which

Mr. Landor had with both the educated and common folks, through more or less skilful interpreters, show a people too easily satisfied with their condition. They are not fond of cleanliness, though as a rule neat in their dress. They are great smokers of tobacco. They are not at all nice in the preparation of their food. They partake liberally of meat diet, and are, as a rule, fine-looking and stalwart. The contrast between their physical appearance, giving the suggestion of robustness, and their moral weakness, is clearly brought out. Mr. Landor's observations, however, seem to have been confined almost wholly to the capital, where the people, as a rule, are said to be shorter in stature than those in the north. In his realistic style we are told about the lepers, the various sorts of diseases, the gluttons, the criminals, the stone fights, and the fires, which vary the monotony of life. One chapter is devoted entirely to the mental traits, the physiognomy, the emotions, and their expression, in the Korean man and woman. Families are generally small in number, it being rare that more than two children of the same father and mother come to maturity. Infant mortality is very great, and there are many reasons for it. Owing to the dissolute and effeminate life among the upper classes, very few able men are to be found among them. In short, this book gives a picture of Korea which is astonishingly like that of old or unreformed Japan. The pessimistic view of the author, who regards the future of Korea as almost hopeless, chimes in with that of Mr. Curzon in his recent book on 'The Problems of the Far East.' Thus far it appears that English authors and students, who look at Asiatic politics in the light of the necessities of the English market, do not seem to know that the old Korea which they describe is now for ever past. The Murata rifle has blown it to the winds, while at the same time piercing the rhinoceros crust of Chinese conceit. A new Korea is as surely and steadily, though very slowly, rising as has risen the New Japan of our day.

*A Life of William Charles Macready.* By W. T. Price. Brentano's.

THE chief object of this publication in the "Masks and Faces" series seems to be the justification of Edwin Forrest for his share in the unfortunate quarrel which ended in the slaughter in Astor Place in 1849. One would have thought that it was scarcely worth while, especially in the case of an avowed friend of the American tragedian, to recall these bitter memories after a lapse of forty-five years. Mr. Price has nothing to add to the established facts with which all readers of stage history have long been familiar. His main contention is that Forster was Macready's most intimate friend, confidant, and agent, and that, therefore, Macready cannot be absolved from responsibility for whatever he may have said or done to the prejudice of Forrest in London. This is not a very ingenuous argument. It would be just as fair to hold Forrest to account for everything that his partisans wrote or said about Macready. Beyond doubt Forster was an ardent admirer and supporter of the English actor, but the extent of his active participation in the literary campaign against the American performer is uncertain. He denied the authorship of some of the articles ascribed to him; and Macready himself—a fair-dealing man in spite of his passions and jealousies—always declared that he had never stooped to suborn the press against his rival. Of course there

were faults and lamentable misunderstandings on both sides, but the fact remains that the first act of overt hostility was committed by Forrest, when he publicly insulted his adversary by hissing him in the theatre and boasting of the deed afterwards. Had it not been for the later bloodshed, this tempest in the theatrical teapot would never have been recorded except in the newspapers of the day. The responsibility for the closing tragedy does not rest upon any one man or two. Possibly a scheme of theatrical advertising may have had more to do with the inflammation of public feeling than has been suspected generally.

Mr. Price's biographical sketch is pleasantly written and affords a compact and comprehensive synopsis of Macready's career as previously set forth in the diaries and elsewhere. His selection of anecdotes, or, rather, his arrangement of them, is, perhaps, a little malicious; but, on the whole, he gives due prominence to the many virtues as well as the notorious faults of his remarkable subject. An interesting feature of the little book is the excerpts from contemporary criticism. Macready's life ought to be studied by all who wish to know what the pursuit of theatrical art for its own sake really means.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Bangs, J. K. *The Idiot*. Harpers. \$1.  
Boardman, S. L. *Handbook of the Turf*. Orange-Judd Co. \$1.  
Chambers, G. F. *The Story of the Stars*. [Library of Useful Stories.] Appletons.  
Chambers, R. W. *The King in Yellow*. F. T. Neely.  
Comperius, Louis. *Majesty: A Novel*. Appletons.  
Davis, Prof. Noah K. *Elements of Inductive Logic*. Harpers. \$1.  
Davis, R. H. *The Princess Aline*. Harpers. \$1.25.  
Defoe, Daniel. *The Life and Strange and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner*. 3 vols. London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. \$1.  
Denney, Rev. James. *Studies in Theology*. Armstrong. \$1.50.  
Douglass, L. *The Mermaid*. Appletons.  
Echegaray, José. *The Son of Don Juan*. Translated by James Graham. Boston: Roberts Bros. \$1.  
Farrar, Rev. F. W. *The Book of Daniel*. [Expositor's Bible.] Armstrong. \$1.50.  
Flagg, E. O. *Poems, and Later Poems*. Whittaker. \$1.25.  
Fletcher, W. L., and Bowker, R. R. *The Annual Literary Index, 1894. Publishers' Weekly*.  
Forbes, W. H. *Thucydides, Book I, Part I. Introduction and Text*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. \$2.25.  
Fortier, Prof. Alce. *Louisiana Folk Tales, in French Dialect and English Translation*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.  
Foster, Roger, and Abbot, E. A. *A Treatise on the Federal Income Tax under the Act of 1894*. Boston: Boston Book Co. \$3.50.  
Four American Universities: Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia. *Illustrated*. Harpers. \$3.50.  
Garver, W. L. *Brother of the Third Degree*. Boston: Arena Publishing Co.  
Hope, Anthony. *A Man of Mark*. Henry Holt & Co. 75 cents.  
Hope, Anthony. *Father Stafford*. F. T. Neely.  
Hopkin, Miss Emily H. *Under the Corsican*. J. Selwin Tait & Sons. \$1.  
Hopkins, J. D. *Poems*. London: Richard Bentley & Son.  
Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia. New ed. Vol. VI. Appletons.

Kendrick, Prof. A. C. Martin B. Anderson. *A Biography*. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.  
Knap, J. M. *The Universities and the Social Problem: An Account of the University Settlements in East London*. London: Rivington, Percival & Co.  
Kuhns, Prof. L. O. *A Selection from the Poetry and Comedies of Alfred de Musset*. Boston: Ginn & Co. 60 cents.  
Kürschner, Joseph. *Deutscher Literatur-Kalender, 1895*. Stuttgart: G. J. Göschen; New York: Westermann.  
Lecky, Walter. *Down at Caxton's*. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 35 cents.  
Life and Dreams. *Poems*. G. W. Dillingham.  
Life and Times of Frederick Douglass. Written by Himself. Boston: De Wolf, Fiske & Co.  
Lillie, Lucy C. *Allison's Adventures: A Story for Girls*. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.  
Linton, E. L. *The New Woman*. The Merrilam Co.  
Love, W. de L. Jr. *The East and Thanksgiving Days of New England*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$3.  
Lovell's Gazetteer of British North America. Montreal: John Lovell & Son.  
Molière, J. B. *Les Femmes Savantes. Le Malade Imaginaire*. Translated by Katharine P. Worneley. Boston: Roberts Bros. \$1.50.  
Nordau, Max. *Degeneration*. Appletons.  
Pendered, Mary L. *A Pastoral Played Out*. Cassell.  
Ruggles, H. J. *The Plays of Shakspeare founded on Literary Forms*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.  
Tabley, Lord de. *Poems Dramatic and Lyrical, Second Series*. London: Dent; New York: Macmillan. \$2.  
Thomson, Dr. W. H. *The Parables and their Home*. Harpers. \$1.25.  
Turgenev, Ivan. *On the Eve*. Macmillan. \$1.25.  
Ufer, Chr. *Introduction to the Pedagogy of Herbart*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 90 cents.  
Watson, Augusta C. *Off Lynnpont Light*. E. P. Dutton & Co.  
Welchsebaum, Prof. Anton. *The Elements of Pathological Histology*. Longmans, Green & Co. \$7.50.  
Whitley, Charles. *Underdown's Heliodorus*. [Tudor Translations.] London: David Nutt.  
Wilson, Rev. S. J. *Occasional Addresses and Sermons*. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.  
Young, A. W. *The Government Class Book*. Maynard, Merrill & Co. \$1.05.

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